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The WORLD DISPLAYED;

OR, A

Curious Collection

OF

Voyages AND Travels.

Selected and compiled from the

WRITERS of all NATIONS;

BY

Smart, Goldsmith, & Johnson.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITION,

Corrected & Enlarged,

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL III.

Philadelphia.

Published by Dobelbower, Key, and Simpson. 1795.

W. Harrison sculp.

ADAMS 250.7-3

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THE

VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN WOODES ROGERS,

ROUND THE WORLD.

Captain Woodes Rogers, in the Duke, of 300 tons and 30 guns; in company with Captain Stephen Courtney in the Dutcheſs, of 270 tons and 26 guns, ſet ſail from Kingroad, Auguſt 1ſt, 1708—An account of their voyage and many adventures from their ſailing to their arrival in the Downs, October 2, 1711, having ſpent three years and two months in ſailing round the world.

AMONG the many expeditions concerted by the merchants of Briſtol, none appears more remarkable than that of the Duke and Dutcheſs, ſent in concert to cruiſe in the South Seas, a voyage attended with many ſingular circumſtances, and a great number of events, that are at the ſame time curious and entertaining. Of this voyage two accounts have been publiſhed, in the form of a journal; one by Capt. Rogers, and the other by Capt. Cooke. The former of which we ſhall chiefly follow, but where any explanatory circumſtance and deſcriptions which he has omitted, are neceſſary, we ſhall take them from the latter.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt 1708, the Duke, a ſhip of 300 tons, 30 guns, and 170 men, commanded by Captain Woodes Rogers, and the Dutcheſs of 270 tons, 26 guns, and 151 men commanded by Capt. Stephen Courtney, weighed from Kingroad; on

the 5th they had ſight of the Iriſh ſhore, and the next day entered the cove of Corke.

While they continued here, their crews were conſtantly marrying, though they expected to ſail immediately; and among others, there was a Dane joined by a Romiſh prieſt to an Iriſh woman, without their underſtanding a word of each other's language, ſo that they were forced to uſe an interpreter; yet this pair ſeemed more afflicted at their ſeparation than any of the reſt, and the fellow continued melancholy for ſeveral days after they were at ſea. However, the others drank with their new wives to the laſt minute, concluding with ſucceſs to their voyage, and their happy meeting, and then parted unconcerned. They here took in a freſh ſupply of men, and had double the number of officers uſual in privateers, to prevent mutinies, and that they might be provided for a ſucceſſion of officers in each ſhip, in caſe of mortality. The complement of ſailors in both ſhips was 333, of which above one-third were foreigners from moſt nations, and ſeveral of her Majeſty's ſubjects on board were tinkers, taylors, haymakers, pedlars, and fidlers, one negroe, and about ten boys.

On the firſt of September, having agreed upon ſignals, they ſet ſail, in company with the Haſtings man of war, with whom they continued till the 6th; when Capt. Paul, her commander, ſupplied them with ſeveral neceſſaries, the want of which had been overlooked, as ſcrubbers, iron-ſcrapers for the ſhips' bottoms, a ſpeaking trumpet, and other things, without accepting of any thing for them. The ſhips' crew were then called upon deck, and the Captains informed them whither they were bound, in order that they might exchange with Capt. Paul any hands that were averſe to ſo long and dangerous a voyage; when only one man appeared diſcontented; and he ſeeing all the others

ſatisfied, readily agreed to follow the fortune of the reſt.

On the 10th, about ſix in the morning, they ſaw a ſail to which they immediately gave chace, and about three in the afternoon made her bring to, after having fired at her twice. From ſome words dropt from ſome of her men, who were drunk, ſhe was ſuſpected to have contraband goods on board; but having examined the men and ſearched the ſhip, they found it would be very difficult to prove her a prize, and being unwilling to hinder time by carrying her into port, they let her go without the leaſt embezzlement; upon this, the maſter made Capt. Rogers a preſent of two hams and ſome dried beef, in return for which he received a dozen bottles of redſtreak cyder. She was a ſhip belonging to Stadt, of twenty-two guns and 270 tons, and on her leaving the concert ſhips, ſaluted them with four guns.

While Capt. Rogers was on board this ſhip, a deſign had been privately formed by the boatſwain, and three other inferior officers, with ſeveral of the men, in order to make prize of her, and upon her being given up, they began to mutiny; but their proceedings were ſoon ſtopped, by putting ten of them in irons, diſplacing the boatſwain, and giving a ſevere whipping to one of the principal fomenters of the diſturbance. Similar inclinations alſo appeared among the people on board the Dutcheſs; but it ſubſided when thoſe of the Duke were quelled. They had, however, afterwards a great deal of trouble with theſe mutineers, who did more miſchief when in irons than before, by ſtirring up the men to releaſe them, pretending that they ſuffered in the cauſe of the crew, who ought therefore to riſe and reſcue them; and on the 14th the ſtorm aroſe to ſuch a height, that a ſailor came up to Capt. Rogers at the ſteerage door, with the beſt part of the ſhip's company

at his heels, demanded the diſcarded boatſwain out of cuſtody. The captain gave him fair words, and having decoyed him to a private conference on the quarter-deck, ſeized him, by the aſſiſtance of the other officers, and had him laſhed by one of his principal comrades. The next day he ſent the mutinous boatſwain in irons on board the Crown galley, of Biddeford, which had kept them company ever ſince the 6th Inſtant, and on the 16th diſcharged the priſoners out of irons, on their humble ſubmiſſion, and ſolemn promiſes of behaving well for the future.

On the 18th, at five in the morning, they ſaw a ſail right a-head, and at ten came up with and took her. She was a ſmall Spaniſh ſhip, bound from Teneriff to Fuerteventura, with ſeveral men and women paſſengers on board. The next day they bore away for Oratavia road, and ſent away the prize's boat, with one of the owner's agents, a prieſt, and the maſter of the prize, to treat about ranſoming the veſſel, and to get wine, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, for both ſhips. Theſe priſoners were accompanied by Mr. Carleton Vanburgh, agent for the owners on board the Duke, who went contrary to the inclination of Captain Rogers. In the morning of the 20th, a boat came from the town with a letter from the Engliſh merchants reſiding there, in which they expoſtulated with the two captains, for making a prize of the bark, alleging that there was a free trade agreed to in thoſe iſlands, between her majeſty Queen Anne and the kings of France and Spain, which had been ſo religiouſly obſerved by the latter, that they had cauſed an Engliſh ſhip taken there by a French privateer to be reſtored. This letter was ſigned by John Poulden, Conſul, and three merchants.

To this epiſtle the captains immediately returned an anſwer, that having no inſtructions relating

to the Spaniſh veſſels trading among thoſe iſlands, they could not juſtify parting with the bark, without ſome order or proclamation of her majeſty. That in caſe Mr. Vanburgh was not reſtored, they would carry away all the priſoners, and if they apprehended any detriment to the Engliſh factory, they might ranſom the bark, and ſeek their redreſs in England. After other letters had paſſed between them, Mr. Croſſe, one of the Engliſh merchants, came off in a boat on the 22d, bringing with him Mr. Vanburgh, together with five buts of wine, hogs, grapes, and other refreſhments. Upon which Captains Rogers and Courtney cauſed the goods to be taken out of the prize, ſold the bark to Mr. Croſſe for 450 dollars, and put the priſoners on board her. After which a committee was held, by whom the whole of this tranſaction was examined, and unanimouſly approved.

On the laſt of September they ran by St. Lucia, one of the Cape de Verd Iſlands, and about eleven o'clock came to an anchor in the harbour of St. Vincent, when ſeeing ſeveral men on ſhore, and knowing the iſland to be uninhabited, Captain Cooke went in the pinnace, to learn who they were, and found them to be Portugueze come from the iſland of St. Anthony to catch turtle. This iſland lies 16°. 55'. north latitude, and 25°. 36'. longitude from London. They found that it contained hogs, goats, and great numbers of Guinea hens, and in the road they caught plenty of fiſh. In the woods they found abundance of large ſpiders, the bodies of which were as big as ſmall walnuts, and their webs being as ſtrong as ordinary threads, and very numerous, were troubleſome to get through. While they lay there, new diſturbances aroſe among the men in relation to plunder; upon which ſuch articles were framed as were unanimouſly agreed to by the crews in both ſhips.

While they ſtaid here to clean their ſhips, and take in wood and water, they ſent their linguiſt with a very reſpectful letter to the governor of theſe iſlands, deſiring leave to traffick for refreſhments, as being the ſubjects of Great Britain, and allies of the crown of Portugal. Some time after, the deputy-governor, who was a negroe, came on board the Duke, bringing with him hogs, fowls, oranges, limes, water melons, muſk melons, tobacco, and brandy, for which he was paid in prize goods of little value; and having afterwards ſtaid ſome days for the linguiſt, it was reſolved to ſail without him.

Of theſe iſlands, which are ten in number, there are only ſeven inhabited, which are St. Jago, St. Nicholas, Bonaviſta, St. Antonia, Brava, Mapo, and Fuego, ſo called from its volcano. St. Jago, and St. Nicholas are the moſt populous. The former is the ſeat of the governor, and a biſhop's ſee: however the iſland of St. Vincent is a better road for ſhipping than St. Jago. Here ſome of the Duke's people went on ſhore in ſearch of game, but could ſtart none, except a wild aſs, which, notwithſtanding its being wounded, eſcaped, after having led them a long chaſe. The land of this iſland is mountanious and barren, and its air is not very healthy, great part of it being over-run with wood; but though many of the people grew ſick here, they were relieved by bleeding.

On the evening of the 8th of October the deputy-governor was ſet on ſhore, at a part of the iſland where there were no houſes, and therefore was obliged to ſpend that night in a cavern. They then ſet ſail for the coaſt of Brazil. On the 22d, Mr. Page, ſecond mate of the Dutcheſs, being ordered to ſerve on board the Duke, he refuſed to change his ſhip and ſtruck Captain Cooke for inſiſting he ſhould, However he was at laſt brought

on board the Duke, for being charged with mutiny: he defired to go to the head and eafe himfelf before he made his defence, which being permitted, he jumped overboard, in hopes of getting back to the Dutchefs, while both the captains were abfent, but he was taken up, punifhed, and laid in irons.

On the 18th of November they anchored before the ifland of Grande, on the coaft of Brazil, in eleven fathoms water. While they lay there, new quarrels arofe on board the Dutchefs, upon which Capt. Courtney immediately put eight of the ring-leaders in irons, which frightened the reft, and probably prevented their attempting to run away with the fhip. On the evening of the 20th, Capt. Cooke and Lieutenant Pope were difpatched to Angre de Reys, by the Portugueze called Noftra Seniora de la Conceptione, a village at about the diftance of three leagues, with a prefent to the governor of butter and cheefe, to defire his friendfhip; but as they approached the fhore, the inhabitants believing them to be French, fired at them feveral times, though without doing them any damage, but on difcovering their miftake, begged their pardon. The governor being gone to Rio Janeiro, a city twelve leagues diftant, they were entertained with great civility by a Friar, who informed them that they had been lately plundered by the French.

On the 22d, feveral of the inhabitants came in canoes from the town with fowl, corn, limes, &c. which they exchanged for trifling neceffaries. Captain Rogers and Captain Courtney, behaved to them with great civility, and promifed a handfome prefent to fuch of them as fhould fecure any of the men who might happen to defert.

On the 23d a Portugueſe veſſel laden with negroes for the ſervice of the gold mines up the country, came to an anchor near the fhips, when Capt. Rogers ſent the pinnace, with ſeveral per-

ſons armed, to enquire whence ſhe came, to which her captain returned a very ſatisfactory anſwer, and ſent a pot of ſweatmeats, and ſome very fine ſugar, as a preſent to the Engliſh commanders. A ſhort time before, ſome French buccaneers put in here to water, ſeized about 1200 pounds weight of gold in boats which were carried by water, becauſe the roads by land from the mines to Rio Janeiro, were almoſt impaſſable.

About this time, two perſons on board the Dutcheſs attempted to make their eſcape into the woods; but in the night were ſo frightened by the noiſe made by the monkies and baboons, which they took to be tygers, that they ran back, plunged into the water, and called out to the ſhip, in order to be taken on board. This, however, did not prevent two Iriſh landmen eſcaping into the woods ſome time after. On the 23d, about four in the morning, the watch on the quarter-deck, obſerving a canoe, called to the men to come on board, but they not anſwering, and ſtriving to get away, it was ſuſpected that they had either got the two men, or were going to fetch them off the iſland, upon which the pinnace and yawl were immediately ſent after them, and the pinnace coming near the canoe, fired in order to ſtay them, but to no purpoſe, till one of the Indians who rowed the canoe was wounded; the owner of the canoe, who ſteered her, was a friar, who had a quantity of gold which he had got at the mines. This friar ran the canoe on ſhore in a little iſland full of wood, at the inſtant the pinnace and yawl landed, and was running away, when a Portugueſe, who had no gold to hide, and knew the others to be Engliſh, called the friar back, who, with ſeveral ſlaves were taken on board the Duke, but the wounded Indian died in two hours. Capt. Rogers made the friar as welcome as he could, but he was not to be comforted for the loſs of

his ſlave, but declared that he would ſeek for juſtice either in Portugal, or in England.

On the 24th, Mr. Dover and Mr. Vanburgh went to divert themſelves in the pinnace, and at their return brought with them a creature that ſtunk intolerably. Its ſkin was covered with fur, ſtuck full of ſharp prickles like thoſe of an hedgehog, and its head reſembled a monkey's. The Portugueze, among whom were ſeveral Franciſcan friars, came to the ſides of the ſhips, affirmed that it was delicious food, and that its offenſive ſmell aroſe only from the ſkin. However, none of the ſailors had any inclination to taſte it.

On the 27th of October, Capt. Rogers, Capt. Courtney, and ſome of the other officers went in the boat to Angre des Reys, to ſee a proceſſion in honour of the Conception of the Virgin Mary. They were treated with great politeneſs by the Portugueſe Governor, who deſired that their muſic, which conſiſted of two trumpets and an hautboy, might aſſiſt at divine ſervice inſtead of an organ, which was readily granted. When the ſervice at church was over, the muſicians, who were by this time half drunk, marched at the head of the proceſſion, in which was carried incenſe, the hoſt, and an image of the Holy Virgin, adorned with flowers, encompaſſed with lighted wax candles, and carried on a bier by four men, followed by the guardian of the convent, about forty prieſts and friars, the Governor of the town, with Capt. Rogers, Capt. Courtney, and the other officers of the ſhips, each of whom had the complaiſance to carry a wax taper. The rear was cloſed by ſome junior prieſts, and the principal inhabitants, carrying conſecrated candles. As ſoon as the ceremony was over, an handſome entertainment was provided at the convent for the Engliſh gentlemen, and another at the guard-houſe by the Governor, whoſe reſidence was about three miles diſtance.

Angre de Reys is poorly built, it conſiſting only of about ſixty low houſes, covered with palmetto leaves; but it has two churches, and a monaſtery of Franciſcans, which is very neat and plainly furniſhed. But though theſe Friars had ſome black cattle, they did not chuſe to diſpoſe of any of them.

The officers being returned on board, the boat was ſent back to the town for liquor, with an invitation to the principal gentlemen to return the viſit on board, to which they agreed, and ſpent the time with great mirth. In their cups they toaſted the Pope's health, while Capt. Rogers, in return, toaſted the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Penn, the celebrated quaker, which they pledged with much good humour. As the weather was hazy, the whole company lay on board all night, and in the morning were ſet on ſhore in the boat; Capt. Rogers making the fathers of the convent a preſent of ſome butter and cheeſe. They were all highly delighted with their agreeeable entertainment, and promiſed to take the greateſt care of ſome letters that were given them to be tranſmitted by their means to England.

The iſland of Grande is about nine leagues long, and both that and the main is very high land. It is covered with wood, and affords plenty of good timber, and excellent water. It abounds with monkeys, and other wild beaſts; and with oranges, lemons, and guavas, which grow wild in the woods. The neceſſaries they got from the town of Angre de Reys, (which is ſituated on the continent of Brazil, on the other ſide the harbour, formed by this iſland) were rum, ſugar, and tobacco; beef, mutton, hogs, fowl, Indian corn, bananas, pine-apples, plantains, guavas, lemons, and oranges; but they have no bread there except caſſado, which they call faranada pan, or bread of wood, and they have no kind of ſallading. While the ſhips ſtaid here, the winds were but little variable, they

commonly blowing between the north and eaſt, and the weather was extremely hot. The rivers and bays abound with fiſh, the moſt remarkable is the ſhark, which has three rows of teeth; a very tough ſkin, and when eaten taſtes very ſtrong, eſpecially the old ones: they are frequently ten feet long, and though commonly attended by one or two ſmall fiſhes, called a pilot fiſh, are ſaid never to devour them, becauſe they find out their prey. The ſhark is very heavy, and his mouth being below his head, he is obliged to lie upon his back in order to catch his prey, and in this manner often ſeizes men who are ſwimming, taking off a limb at a bite: but though he is extraordinary ſtrong in the water, he is ſoon drowned by playing with a line.

The pilot fiſh, when ſwimming in the water, greatly reſembles a mackerel, and looks as if he were painted blue and white, in a circular manner, reſembling a barber's pole. There is another ſort of a pilot fiſh, which when out of the water is of a deep blue, only his belly is of a higher colour than his back and ſides; his ſcales are ſmooth like thoſe of a tench, and his back ſpeckled like a ſeal's ſkin. Captain Cooke ſtruck one of theſe with a harping iron, and found it eight inches long, and three inches broad.

On the firſt of December the Duke and Dutcheſs ſailed out of the bay of Grande, and on the 23d made land, which was ſuppoſed to be Falkland's Iſland, and as they ran along the ſhore, it ſeemed to reſemble ſome part of England, it having ſeveral good bays and valleys; it made a very agreeable appearance; and they obſerved abundance of ducks and ſmall fowls, beſides ſhoals of fiſh, but could perceive no ſigns of inhabitants. They gueſſed it to be about ninety miles long and ſeventy in breadth. The body of this iſland lies in

about 51°. 20. ſouth latitude, and 64°. weſt longitude.

On the 5th of January they had a violent ſtorm, which ſoon filled the waſte of the Dutcheſs with water to ſuch a degree, that it was expected ſhe would ſink every moment; and at nine at night, as the men were going to ſupper, ſhe ſhipped a ſea at the poop, which beat in all the cabbin windows and bulk-head, and hove the firſt lieutenant half way between the decks, with ſeveral muſkets and piſtols that hung there, darting a ſword that was againſt the bulk-head of the cabbin through a hammock and rug which belonged to Capt. Cooke's ſervant, that hung againſt the bulk-head of the ſteerage, and had not the bulk-head of the great cabbin given way, all who were in the other cabbin muſt inevitably have been drowned before the water could have run off. The yawl was ſtaved on the deck; and it is ſurpriſing that many were not killed with the bulk-head, the ſhutters, and the arms, that were driven with prodigious violence. However, one or two of the men were hurt, and not a rag of dry clothes left in the ſhip; their cheſts, hammocks and bedding, being all ſoaked in water.

On the 15th they ſtood to the northward, found ſmooth water in the South Seas, and ſaw ſeveral albatroſſes, pintadas, and other ſea-fowls; and on the 17th found, by a good obſervation, that they had got round Cape Horn, Terra del Feugo, and the Streights of Magellan, and were to the northward of Cape Victoria. The men began now to drop off with the ſcurvy; but on the 26th they made land, which they took to be St. Mary's Iſland, on the coaſt of Chili, and continuing to ſteer to the north, they on the 31ſt ſaw the iſland of Juan Fernandes, when Mr. Dover, ſecond Captain of the Duke, went off in the afternoon in the pinnace, in ſearch of proviſions, and to find the beſt place to anchor in; but as ſoon as it grew

dark, a fire was obſerved on ſhore, on which it was concluded that there were ſhips in the road; and as it was believed that the light proceeded from French veſſels at anchor, and that they ſhould be obliged either to fight them or to continue in want of water, the ſhips were ordered to get ready to engage.

Whilſt they were under theſe apprehenſions, they ſtood to the weſtward, in order to fall in with the ſoutherly wind, till having paſſed the iſland, they returned back to it again, and running cloſe up to the north-eaſt ſide, the ſqualls of wind which blew from the ſhore forced them to reef their top-ſails, when they opened the middle bay, where they expected to have found the enemy; but ſaw all clear, and no ſhips either in that bay or in the other to the north-eaſt. About noon the yawl was ſent aſhore with Capt. Dover, Mr. Fry, and ſix men well armed. Mean while the Duke and Dutcheſs kept turning to get in; but ſuch heavy ſqualls blew from the land, as forced them to let go their topſail-ſheet, and to keep all hands to ſtand by the ſails, for fear of their being carried away by theſe winds. Theſe ſqualls proceeded from the land, which is very high in the middle of the iſland.

The yawl not returning, Capt. Rogers ſent his pinnace, with the men armed, to ſee what was the occaſion of her ſtay, for he began to be afraid that the Spaniards had a garriſon there, and might have ſeized them. He therefore put out a ſignal for the yawl, and the Dutcheſs ſhewed a French enſign: However, the pinnace ſoon returned from the ſhore, bringing not only a great quantity of cray-fiſh, but a man clothed in goats ſkins, who made a very wild and uncouth appearance.

This perſon had been four years and four months on the iſland, being left there by Capt. Stradling, who commanded a ſhip called the

Cinque Ports, of which this man, whoſe name was Alexander Selkirk, had been maſter; and Captain Dampier being at that time in the ſame ſhip, now telling Mr. Rogers, that Selkirk had been the beſt man on board her, he immediately made him mate of his own ſhip. It was he who made the fire the night before, on his ſeeing the ſhips which he judged to be Engliſh. During his ſtay here, he ſaw ſeveral ſhips paſs by; but only two came to an anchor, belonging to the Spaniards, from whom he with difficulty eſcaped. Had they been French, he would have ſubmitted; but he choſe to run the hazard of dying alone on the iſland, rather than to fall into the hands of the Spaniards in thoſe parts, becauſe he apprehended they would murder him, or make a ſlave of him in the mines: For he juſtly feared that they would ſpare no ſtranger well acquainted with the South Seas. Theſe Spaniards had landed before he knew what they were, and came ſo near, that he had much ado to eſcape, for they not only ſhot at him, but purſued him to the woods, where he climbed to the top of a tree, at the foot of which ſome of them made water, without ſeeing him, and afterwards killed ſeveral goats juſt by: but went off again without diſcovering him.

He ſaid that he was born at Largo in the county of Fife in Scotland, and was bred a ſailor from his youth. The reaſons of his being left there was a difference between him and his captain, which, together with the ſhip's being leaky, made him at firſt willing rather to ſtay here, than to go along with him, and when he was afterwards deſirous of going, the captain would not receive him. He had been before at the iſland to wood and water, when two of the ſhips company were left upon it for ſix months, till the ſhip which had been chaſed thence by two French South-Sea ſhips, returned and took them on board.

He had with him his clothes and bedding, with a firelock, ſome powder, bullets and tobacco, a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, ſome practical diſcourſes, and his mathematical books and inſtruments. He provided for himſelf, and ſought for amuſement, as well as he could, but for the firſt eight months, had much ado to bear up againſt melancholy, and the terror which frequently aroſe in his mind at being left alone in ſo deſolate a place. He built two huts of pimento wood, covered them with long graſs, and lined them with the ſkins of the goats he ſhot for food, as long as his powder laſted, which was no more than a pound. He got fire by rubbing two ſticks of pimento wood together, upon his knee. In the leſſer hut, which was built at ſome diſtance from the other, he dreſſed his victuals, and ſlept in the larger, where he alſo employed himſelf in reading, ſinging pſalms, and praying, ſo that he ſaid he was a better chriſtian, while in this ſolitude, than ever he was before, or than he was afraid he ſhould ever be again.

At firſt he never eat any thing till he was conſtrained to it by hunger, which partly aroſe from his grief, and partly from the want of bread and ſalt, nor did he go to bed till he was unable to watch any longer. The pimento wood, which burns very clear, not only ſerved him for fire and candle, but refreſhed him with its fragrant ſmell. He might have had fiſh enough, but as he wanted ſalt, he did not chuſe to eat them, becauſe they occaſioned a looſeneſs, except craw-fiſh, which are there as large as our lobſters, and are very good; theſe he ſometimes boiled, and at others broiled, as he did his goat's fleſh, of which he made very good broth; for they are not ſo rank as ours. He kept an account of 500 which he had killed, during his reſidence here, and of his having caught above

as many more, which he marked on the ear, and then let them go.

When his powder failed he took the goats by his fwiftneſs of foot; for being cleared of all groſs humours by the continual exerciſe of walking and running, he ran with ſuch wonderful fwiftneſs through the woods, and up the hills and rocks, that the fwifteſt goat in the iſland was ſcarcely a match for him, as was obſerved by the perſons on board the Duke and Dutcheſs, who, while they ſtayed there, employed him to catch goats, and having a bull dog ſent him from one of the ſhips with ſeveral of their nimbleſt runners to aſſiſt him, he diſtanced and tired both the dog and the men, caught the goats, and ran back with them on his ſhoulders. He told them that his agility in purſuing a goat, had once like to have coſt him his life; for he was ſo eagerly engaged in the purſuit, that he catched hold of it upon the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the buſhes concealing it from his view, ſo that he fell down a prodigious height with the goat, and was ſo ſtunned and bruiſed with the fall that he lay there about twenty-four hours, and on his recovering his ſenſes, found the goat dead under him. He was ſo hurt that he was ſcarce able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile diſtant, or to ſtir abroad again in ten days. Mr. Selkirk at laſt came to reliſh his meat well enough without ſalt or bread, and in the proper ſeaſon had plenty of good turnips, which had been ſowed there by Captain Dampier's men, and had now overſpread ſome acres of ground. He had cabbages enough from the cabbage trees, and ſeaſoned his meat with pimento, commonly called Jamaica pepper. He alſo found a black pepper called malageta, which was proper for expelling wind, and a good remedy for griping in the guts. He ſoon wore out all his clothes and

ſhoes, by running in the woods; upon which he made himſelf a coat and a cap of goat-ſkins, which he ſtitched together with ſlender thongs of the ſame ſkins: though he had no other needle but a nail, and when his knife with which he cut theſe thongs, was worn to the back, he made others, as well as he could, of ſome iron hoops that were left aſhore, which he beat ſtraight, and ground upon ſtones. Having ſome linen cloth by him, he ſewed him ſome ſhirts with a nail, and ſtitched them with the worſted of his old ſtockings, which he pulled out on purpoſe, and he had his laſt ſhirt on when he was diſcovered in the iſland. His being obliged to go barefoot, made his feet become ſo hard, that he ran every where without difficulty, and it was ſometime after his being found, before he could wear ſhoes, for not being uſed to any ſo long, his feet ſwelled on his firſt attempting to walk with them.

After he had conquered his melancholy, he ſometimes diverted himſelf with cutting on the trees his name, the time of his being left, and his continuance there. He was at firſt much peſtered with rats, that bred in great numbers from ſome which had got aſhore from ſhips that put in there to wood and water. The rats gnawed his feet and clothes while he ſlept, which obliged him to cheriſh the cats by feeding them with goat's fleſh, when many of them became ſo tame that they would lye about him in hundreds, and ſoon delivered him from the rats. He alſo tamed ſome kids, and to divert himſelf would now and then ſing and dance with them and his cats, ſo that by the favour of Providence and the vigour of youth, being now only thirty years old, he at laſt conquered all the inconveniences of his ſolitude, and grew very eaſy.

At his firſt going on board, he had ſo much forgot his language for want of uſe, that he could ſcarcely be underſtood, for he ſeemed to ſpeak his words by halves; a dram was immediately offered him, but he would not touch it, for as he had drank nothing but water ſince his being there, he had an averſion to any thing ſo ſtrong as ſpirituous liquors, and it was ſome time before he could reliſh the ſhip's proviſions. He could give no account of any thing produced in the iſland, that had not been before diſcovered by the Engliſh, except ſome black plums, which were very good, but hard to come at; the trees that bear them growing on rocks and high mountains. Great numbers of pimento trees were found there, ſome of which were ſixty feet high, and about two yards in circumference, and cotton trees that were ſtill higher, and near four fathoms round.

The winter laſts no longer than June and July, and is not then ſevere, there being only a ſlight froſt, and a little hail; and the heat of the ſummer is equally moderate, there being neither much thunder nor tempeſtuous weather of any ſort, and he ſaw no venomous nor ſavage creature on the iſland*. This account gave Daniel Defoe the hint of writing his ingenious romance of Robinſon Cruſoe.

On the 3d of February, they got the ſmith's forge on ſhore: Capt. Rogers alſo ſet the carpenters to work, and had a little tent made for himſelf. The Dutchefs had alſo a tent erected for her ſick men; a few of thoſe on board were employed in ſupplying the reſt with fiſh of ſeveral ſorts, of which there was great abundance. There were ſea fowls in the bay as large as geeſe, but they are fiſhy; and Mr. Selkirk, to whom they gave the

* The reader may ſee a very curious deſcription of Juan Fernandes in Anſon's voyage.

name of governor, never failed to procure them two or three goats a day for the ſick men, by the help of which, together with the greens, and the wholeſome air of the iſland, they ſoon recovered of the ſcurvy. They ſpent their time till the 10th in refitting their ſhips, and taking in wood and water, and alſo in boiling up about eighty gallons of ſea-lion's oil, of which they might have made ſeveral tons had they been provided with veſſels. This oil they refined for their lamps, in order to ſave candles; the ſailors alſo ſometimes fryed their meat in it, for want of butter, and found it agreeable enough. The men alſo eat young ſeals, of which, as well as the ſea-lions, they found vaſt numbers on the ſhore; they preferred them to the ſhips proviſions, and thought theſe ſeals as good as Engliſh lamb.

As they had been informed at the Canaries, that five ſtout French ſhips were about to ſail into theſe ſeas, they made what haſte they could to get all their neceſſaries on board, and on the 13th of February, a conſultation was held, in which ſeveral regulations were made for preſerving ſecrecy, diſcipline, and ſtrict honeſty on board both veſſels, and the next day weighed in order to ſteer for the iſland of Lobos de la Mar, having buried only two men in the iſland.

On the 17th of February, they made land, which was ſuppoſed to be the iſland of Pajaros, and on the 24th, croſſed the tropic of Capricon, when they ſaw ſeveral tropical birds, among which were the boobies; theſe are about the bigneſs of a magpye; the feathers are black and white on the top of the back and wings, and white underneath; the eyes are large, the beak is red, and the tail conſiſts of only one feather, which is about a foot and a half long; they fly high, and are ſuppoſed to live on fiſh, but are ſeldom ſeen any where but near the tropics.

On the 3d of March, at which time the weather was very hot, they ſaw ſeveral trees and pieces of wood floating on the water, with many bunches of weeds, and abundance of ſea larks about them, ſome of which Capt. Cooke ſhot in the pinnace, as alſo a boobie that was almoſt white, and a ſeal which immediately ſunk; with the fiſgig they ſtruck a very large ſun-fiſh, but it at laſt got away: It ſwam very lofty, and came cloſe to the boat when they ſtruck it. They alſo ſaw ſome flying fiſh, which are long and ſlender, with a very large eye, the body reſembling that of a mullet in ſhape and colour. They fly ſometimes near as far as a gun-ſhot before they touch the water, and then drop into the ſea; they being chaſed by their enemies the dolphins, who ſwim ſo ſwiftly that they often catch them on their falling into the water, and ſometimes theſe fiſh drop into the ſhips.

On the 14th in the afternoon, they ſaw a ſail, and the Dutcheſs, being neareſt, ſoon took her. She was a ſmall veſſel, bound from Guaiaquil to Cheripe, to load for flour, and had been out 16 days; the maſter and men were all Indians, there being only one Spaniard who was a paſſenger. They had nothing on board but about the value of 50l. in money. They informed them that all the French ſhips were gone home ſome months before, and having ruined the chamber of Seville, were to trade there no more. They added, that the Spaniards had ſuch an averſion to the French that at Callao the ſea-port for Lima, they killed many of them, and quarrelled ſo frequently with them, that for ſome time before they ſailed from thence, none were ſuffered to go aſhore. The priſoners alſo told them that there had been no enemies in thoſe parts ſince Capt. Dampier was there four years before, and that Capt. Stradling's ſhip the Cinque Ports, who was Dampier's conſort, foundered on the coaſt of Barbacom, where only he, and

ſix or ſeven of his men were ſaved; but being taken in their boat, had been ever ſince kept priſoners at Lima, where they lived much worſe than Mr. Selkirk had done in the iſland of Juan Fernandes.

Having manned the prize with Engliſh ſailors, they hauled off cloſe on a wind for Lobos, but had they not received ſome information from the prize's crew, might have endangered their ſhips by running in upon the ſhoals between the iſland and the main; on the 17th, they came to an anchor between the two iſlands of Lobos de la Mar, together with their prize, which the next day they prepared to fit out, as a cruiſer, under the command of Mr. Stratton, calling her the Beginning; and having on the 20th ſtored her with proviſions, and manned her with thirty-two men, ſhe put out to ſea, together with the Dutcheſs. On the 26th, the Dutcheſs brought in another prize: She was of fifty tons burthen, and had a cargo of timber, ſome cocoa nuts, and tobacco, which laſt was diſtributed among the crews of the Duke and Dutcheſs. Having on the 30th cleaned and refitted the laſt prize, ſhe was named the Increaſe, after which, the ſick in both ſhips were carried on board her, under the care of the ſurgeon, and Mr. Selkirk, as maſter.

The two largeſt of theſe iſlands are called Lobos de la Mar, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe named Lobos de la Terra; they are about ſix miles in length, and about ſixteen leagues from the continent. They afford neither wood, water nor any vegetable. The ſoil is a white clay mixed with ſand and rocks, and ſeveral veins of ſlate. There is here, however, good riding for ſhips in about twenty-ſix fathoms water. Here are abundance of carrion crows, which looked at a diſtance ſo like turkeys that Capt. Cooke at landing, bleſſed himſelf at the ſight, hoping to fare deliciouſly, and was ſo eager to have them, that he would not ſtay

till the boat could put him on ſhore, but leapt into the water with his gun, and getting near enough to two of them that were ſitting on a rock, let fly at them: but when he came to take up his game, it ſtunk inſufferably, and made Capt. Rogers and the other officers very merry at his miſtake. The other birds in theſe iſlands are, penguins, pelicans, boobies, and a ſort of fowl like teal, that burrough in the ground. The ſhips crews got loads of theſe laſt, which they ſkinned, and praiſed them as being excellent meat. They found abundance of bulruſhes and empty jars, which the Spaniſh fiſhermen had left on ſhore; for all over this coaſt, they uſe jars inſtead of caſks, for oil, wine, and all other ſorts of liquors.

Here are ſome ſea-lions, and abundance of ſeals much larger than thoſe of Juan Fernandes; but the furr is not ſo fine. They killed ſeveral for the ſake of their livers; but a Spaniard, who was one of the crew, dying ſuddenly after his eating of them, this kind of food was forbidden. The priſoners accounted all ſeals very unwholeſome.

The wind which always blew freſh over the land, brought a very offenſive and noiſome ſmell aboard, from the ſeals on the ſhore which gave Captain Rogers a violent head-ach, and every body elſe complained of it, though nothing ſo offenſive had ever proceeded from the ſeals on the ſhores of Juan Fernandes.

They were informed by their priſoners, that it was thought that the widow of the late viceroy of Peru would ſhortly embark for Acapulco, with her family and riches, and ſtop at Paita to refreſh, or ſail within ſight of it, in one of the king's ſhips of 36 guns, and that about eight months before, a ſhip with 200,000 pieces of eight, and a biſhop with a quantity of plate on board, beſides a cargo of flour and liquors, had paſſed by Paita for Acapulco. They alſo added, that they had left one

Seignor Morel at Paita in a ſtout ſhip laden with dry goods. That he was bound for Lima, and that they expected in a few days the arrival of a ſhip richly laden from Panama. Upon this advice, they agreed to ſpend as much time as poſſible without diſcovering themſelves.

On the 1ſt of April, they found the ſea of the colour of blood, which appeared upon inſpection to be cauſed by the ſpawn of fiſh, which ſwam on its ſurface. On the ſecond, Mr. Fry took a prize in the pinnace, and on briging her in, ſhe proved the ſhip before-mentioned, commanded by Seignor Morel and his brother, her burthen was near 300 tons; ſhe was deeply laden with dry goods, and beſides her cargo, had fifty negroes on board, and many paſſengers bound from Panama to Lima, with a fine ſtock of freſh proviſions; the command of this veſſel was given to Mr. Fry. The day following, the Beginning took a prize of fifty tons burthen, laden with timber and bound for Lima. She had the value of about 90 or 100l. in plate and money, and by this veſſel they were informed, that the biſhop already mentioned was coming by ſea from Panama to Lima, upon which information, the cruiſers were ſtationed in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to bid faireſt for ſhortening his voyage.

On the 12th of April, it was reſolved in a committee, not to ſend the Beginning prize into Paita, as had been agreed on, for fear of diſcovery; but to attempt the town of Guaiaquil. The enterprize to be conducted by the three captains, Rogers, Courtney, and Dover; the firſt to command 71 officers and ſailors; the ſecond to be at the head of 73 men, and the third to command a company of 70 mariners; Capt. Dampier to command the artillery, with a reſerve of 22 men; Capt. Edward Cooke was to command the Dutcheſs wth 42 men;

and Capt. Robert Fry, the Duke with 40 men. The blacks, Indians, and priſoners were 260 more.

On the 13th, they hauled in for Cape Blanco, when a committee being held, it was agreed for the encouragement of the officers and common men, that all gold rings, buttons and buckles, bedding and clothes, liquors and proviſions, with all ſorts of arms, except great guns for ſhips, ſhould be allowed as plunder, to be equally divided among the men on board, or on ſhore, according to their whole ſhares; and that all wrought gold or ſilver, crucifixes, and watches, found about the priſoners, ſhould be alſo plunder, except money, women's ear-rings, looſe diamonds, pearls and precious ſtones; and that none ſhould keep any plunder, but deliver it to his officer publickly to be depoſited in a place appointed and entered in books for the ſatisfaction of all concerned; but that thoſe who ſhould commit any diſorder on ſhore, diſobey command, quit their poſt, or behave cowardly in any action, ſhould loſe their ſhares of the plunder, and be ſeverely puniſhed.

On the 15th in the morning, they ſaw a ſail near the ſhore, and having little wind, the Duke's boat, commanded by Capt. Fry, and the Dutcheſs's by Capt. Cooke, rowed off for her, in ſuch haſte that neither of them had the ſwivel guns they uſed to carry in their boats, nor their full complement of men; and only ten muſkets, four piſtols, and not much powder and ſhot, nor any water. They rowed very hard to come up with the ſhip, for the ſpace of ſix leagues, when the Duke's boat, coming firſt near her, ſhe put out Spaniſh colours, fired a gun at the boat, and hoiſted a Spaniſh flag at the main-top-maſt head. The Duke's boat then lay by for the other to come up. The diſpute became hot, and continued ſo for a long time, the boats keeping a conſtant fire, and the enemy anſwering it, by which they killed Capt. Rogers's brother,

and another perſon, and wounded one in the Duke's boat and two in the Dutcheſs's. At length the Duke's boat finding the enterprize too difficult, bore away, and ſome time after the other did ſo too. When Capt. Fry putting ſome of his men on board the Dutcheſs's boat with a ſupply of powder and ſhot, Capt. Cooke attacked her again, and the ſhips coming up, the Spaniards ſtruck to the Dutcheſs. This was the ſhip they had ſo long expected. She had been built by the French, had ſeventy blacks, and many paſſengers, but they had ſet the biſhop on ſhore with his treaſure, and ſeveral of his attendants at Point St. Helena.

On the 17th, every thing being in order, the men intended for the deſcent upon Guaiaquil, amounting to 201, went on board the two barks, when Capt. Cooke was ſent for on board the Dutcheſs, and Capt. Fry to the Duke, to take care of the ſhips, prizes, and priſoners, which were to keep at a convenient diſtance from the barks, to prevent their being diſcovered by the enemy; after which Capt. Rogers and his barks, together with Capt. Courtney, came to an anchor off Punta Arena; then taking to their boats, with forty men, they made for Puna, an iſland covered with ſwamps and over-run with mangroves, and in the morning came to a grappling cloſe under the land, out of the ſight of the look-outs. At ſeven in the evening, the ſhip came to an anchor between St. Clara and Tumbez, when the boat weighing, rode within half a mile of the town, and came again to a grappling, for fear of being diſcovered, in ſuch a manner, that they had the appearance of drift timber upon the water. At four the next morning, they got up cloſe with Puna, ſecured all the canoes and bark-logs, and ſeized the governor of the town, with about twenty of the people, by whom they were aſſured that the inhabitants of Guaiaquil could have no intimation of their being ſo near,

thoſe who had fled from Puna having taken refuge in the woods. They found in this town a paper that had been ſent from Lima, copies of which it ſeems were diſperſed all along the coaſts, to give notice that Capt. Dampier was again arrived in thoſe ſeas: they were however pretty well ſatisfied that they ſhould be able to execute all their deſigns, before any forces could arrive at Lima.

On the 21ſt of April, the Beginning was ſent a-head towards Point Arena, on the iſland of Puna, for fear of danger, but ſhe found there only an empty veſſel, riding cloſe under the point. This was a Spaniſh bark ſent to load ſalt, but the men ſeeing the Engliſh approach, thought proper to abandon her. All apprehenſions were now entirely removed, and therefore at five in the afternoon, the barks and boats rowed for the town of Guaiaquil, and at eleven ſaw a light in the town, upon which they rowed as gently as poſſible for fear of being diſcovered, till they came within a mile of it, when they heard a centinel call to another, talk ſome time, and bid him bring fire. Perceiving that they were diſcovered, they rowed over to the other ſide againſt the town, ſaw a fire made where the centinels talked, and ſoon after many lights all over the town and at the water ſide; they heard them ring the alarm bell, fire ſeveral vollies, and ſaw them light a fire on the hill where the beacon was kept, to give notice that they were come up the river. At this the boat came to a grappling, and ſuch a hot diſpute aroſe among ſome of the chief officers, that they were heard on ſhore; but the Spaniards not underſtanding what they ſaid, fetched an Engliſhman to interpret what they heard. However, before he came the diſpute was over. This account they had from the very Engliſhman who afterwards joined them, and proceeded on the voyage. The diſpute aroſe from a council held in the ſtern of one of the boats, to re-

ſolve whether they ſhould land immediately or ſtay till day-break, and the officers differing in their opinions, it was agreed, that ſince they did not know the ground, and ſince the barks, in which were near half the men and the artillery, were not come up, to ſtay till day light, when it was hoped the barks would join them, and therefore they fell a little way down the river to meet them, hearing at the ſame time ſeveral muſket ſhot in their way, which they at firſt thought might proceed from the Spaniards along the ſhore.

On the 22d at day-break, they ſaw one of the barks at anchor, cloſe under the ſhore, within a mile of the town; and at flood the other coming up the river, they rowed back to the bark, which had fired at ſome fiſhermen, who were paſſing by, and whom they took. All their forces being now joined, they held a council in the pinnace, proceeded up the river, and ſent a flag of truce, with the captain of the French built ſhip, the governor of Puna, and another priſoner; then towed up the barks a-breaſt of the town and came to an anchor.

When the captain of the French built ſhip came to the corregidor, or Mayor of the town, he aſked the number of the Engliſh, which the captain magnified. The corregidor anſwered they were boys and not men; but the captain replied, he would find they were men; for they had fought him bravely in their open boats, though he had killed one of the commander's brothers, and wounded and killed others, and therefore adviſed him to agree to ranſom the town; for though he had 3000 men he would not be able to withſtand them; to which the corregidor returned, My horſe is ready.

On the 23d, having towed the barks cloſe up before the town, the pinnace went up the river after ſome veſſels, and brought ſix of them to an

anchor by the barks; they alſo took poſſeſſion of two new ſhips of about 400 tons each. They then went on ſhore with a flag of truce, and the governor came on board one of the prizes, to agree about the ranſom of the town and ſhips, and to purchaſe the negroes and goods, for which he offered 140 pieces of eight per bale, one with another; after this he deſired to go on gore to prevail on the gentlemen of the place to agree about the ranſom, promiſing to meet the captains again at ſeven in the evening, but was not ſo good as his word; mean while the boats went up the river again to ſee for more ſhips, but returned without finding any. However they took ſeveral canoes, with ſome plate on board. After midnight the centinels hailed a boat which came on board them with one gentlemen ſent by the corregidor, with a preſent of two bags of flour, two ſheep, and two hogs ready killed, two jars of wine, and two of brandy, aſſuring them that the corregidor would have been with them according to appointment, had not one of the principal merchants been abſent; but that he would come off by ſeven o'clock in the morning, and deſired them to believe him to be a man of honour. The three commanders returned their compliments to the corregidor, and their thanks for his preſent; and deſired that he might be told that they hoped he would convince them of his being a man of honour, by meeting them at the time appointed, otherwiſe the treaty ſhould be at an end.

At ſeven in the morning they ſaw a flag of truce on board one of the new ſhips, when manning their pinnace, they ſent their linguiſt with a promiſe that if the corregidor came on board the prize, he ſhould be at liberty to return. Upon which he came with three perſons more. The two frigates' barks where then ordered cloſe under the ſhore, next the beſt part of the town, and every

thing got ready for landing, in caſe the agreement ſhould be broke off.

The firſt propoſals, made by the three captains, were, that 50,000 pieces of eight ſhould be paid for the ranſom of the town, the two new ſhips, and the ſix barks; beſides which, the governor ſhould be obliged to buy off the goods and negroes they had taken in the prizes, at certain ſtipulated prices, to be paid within the term of nine days. To the latter the Spaniards agreed, offering to leave two hoſtages for the performance of the promiſe; but refuſed to give the ſum demanded for the town and ſhips, alleging that they had men ſufficient to protect them. When imagining that the corregidor only waited to gain time, they threatened, if their demands were not immediately complied with, to ſet the town and ſhips in a blaze before night. However, the corregidor and other gentlemen agreed to buy the cargoes, and to give hoſtages for 40,000 pieces of eight for the town, the two new ſhips, and the barks; but being unwilling to ſign this agreement, till it was confirmed by the principal perſons in the town, and an Indian coming in a canoe to aſk the corregidor whether he had agreed, and that in caſe he had not, his men were ready, and waited only for his orders to begin the attack, it was propoſed to ſeize him; but he alleging that it was contrary to the flag of truce, he was ſet on ſhore again, and an hour's time given him to get his men ready. However, the boat went and came two or three times, with the flag of truce, but the governor and captains not agreeing, they towed nearer the ſhore, wearing the union jack at their top-maſt heads.

At four in the afternoon the men landed, fired on their knees at the brink of the bank, and, having loaded, advanced with ſuch bravery, that the Spaniards fired only one volley, and fled, while the Engliſh preſſing forwards, purſued them with

the greateſt intrepidity, and on their entering the ſtreets, ſaw four guns pointed at them before a ſpacious church; but they no ſooner came in ſight, than the horſe moved off with precipitation. Capt. Rogers then called to his men to run and ſeize the guns, and advanced himſelf at the head of ten of them, within piſtol ſhot; which boldneſs ſo intimidated the enemy, that after one general diſcharge they all fled, except the gunner, who was an Iriſhman, who ſtaid till he received four wounds, of which he afterwards died. A body of the Engliſh now coming up, under the command of Capt. Courtney and Capt. Dover, Mr. Rogers ſtaid to ſecure the poſt he had ſo bravely gained, and took poſſeſſion of the church, where about twelve priſoners were taken, while the others marched to the farther end of the town.

It is obſervable, that from the time of their landing till their ſeizing the guns and taking poſſeſſion of the church, which was above a furlong from the water ſide, was not more than half an hour. The guns were now turned upon the enemy, and Mr. Dampier placed at them with a guard of twenty-five men; but the Spaniards ſoon evacuated the town. However, it was thought proper to ſet five or ſix houſes that fronted the church on fire; theſe burnt all night and part of the next day. The reaſon of their burning theſe houſes was, there being a hill near this quarter, and thick woods, under cover of which the Spaniards might annoy the guard, which was within muſket ſhot: And indeed they kept firing all night out of the woods at the centinels, or any others who ſtirred out of the guard, but without doing the leaſt execution; and ſeveral parties of horſe and foot came down without making any attempt.

In the mean while the Dutcheſs's pinnace, with twenty-two men, commanded by Lieut. Connelly, went up the river, landed at every houſe, took the

plate and whatever elſe of value they found, and had ſome ſkirmiſhes with the enemy, and in particular chaſed thirty-five horſemen well armed, who were coming to aſſiſt the inhabitants of Guaiaquil. They found the houſes up the river full of women, and at one place there were above a dozen handſome well dreſſed young ladies, from whom they took ſeveral gold chains and ear-rings, but behaved with ſuch civility that the women offered to dreſs proviſions for them, and brought them a caſk of good liquor. Some of the largeſt gold chains the ladies had concealed by faſtening them round their middles, legs and thighs; but the women in thoſe hot countries being thinly clad with ſilk and fine linen, the men, by preſſing on the outſide of their apparel felt their chains, and modeſtly deſired them by means of their linguiſt, to take them off with their own hands. They called at this houſe for proviſions as they returned down the river, when the ladies expreſſed no uneaſineſs or ſurpriſe at a ſecond viſit. They had taken a large empty bark in their progreſs, but abandoned her. They returned on the 24th in the evening, and brought with them in gold chains, ear-rings and plate, to the value of 1000l. but they all imagined that the want of another boat prevented their obtaining more than double that ſum, for while they ſearched on one ſide, the barks and bark-logs croſſed the river in their ſight, carrying many people with their ſubſtance out of their reach. They alſo told Capt. Rogers, that they had ſeen above 300 armed horſe and foot in ſeveral parties, ſo that they apprehended the enemy, under the pretence of paying a ranſom, was endeavouring to gain time, till they were capable of overpowering them by numbers, when they agreed, in order to prevent their being ſurprized, to aſſemble in a body at every alarm.

On the 24th, the Engliſh colours were kept flying on the towers of the church, where Mr.

Dover kept guard all day, while the Captains Rogers and Courtney, took care to have what they thought moſt uſeful conveyed to the water ſide. The governor of Puna, with another priſoner, were the ſame day ſent to the enemy with propoſals for ranſoming the town; but returned in the evening, with an ambiguous anſwer, however they deſired to be ſent back again the next morning.

They were this day informed that the enemy were coming down the hill, on which the alarm was given, and part of the men being left with the guns, Capt. Rogers marched with the reſt, and met Capt. Courtney and his company on the bridge, retiring, who immediately reported that the enemy was numerous and well armed in the north of the town. However, the Captains, Rogers and Courtney, having joined their forces, which did not exceed 70 men, went forward to meet them, when the Spaniards did not chuſe to face them, but upon their advancing, retired into woods, when the two captains not agreeing about keeping poſſeſſion of that end of the town, marched back, taking ſome of the moſt valuable effects, which were carried on board the barks.

On the 25th of April, the priſoners returned with an offer of 30,000 pieces of eight, as a ranſom for the town, ſhips, and bark, to be paid in twelve days, which the captains did not approve, as they were apprized that the Spaniards had diſpatched an expreſs to Lima, to expedite the expected ſuccours. The ſame day, the enemy appeared thick in the woods, and as they ſometimes came out, the guards had ſome ſkirmiſhes with them, and the afternoon was ſpent in ſhipping off proviſions from the town, and making preparations for their ſecurity, when it was thought proper to join all their forces at the main-guard, where they had their cannon mounted. At night they lay in the church, round which centinels were placed

within a muſket-ſhot of each other, every man keeping his arms and ammunition in exact order, and being ready to riſe at the leaſt alarm.

At night, a Frenchman in Capt. Rogers's company, who with ſome others, had been ſent to ſtrengthen Capt. Courtney's quarters, ſtanding centry, ſhot one of the ſailors dead; for an order having been given to ſhoot every perſon in the night, who did not anſwer on being challenged, he called out to him in French, which the other not underſtanding, thus unhappily loſt his life.

On the 26th in the morning, Capt. Courtney returned to his guard to cover the men who were carrying proviſions, and other plunder on board the ſhips, and the captains ſent their final anſwer, that the town ſhould be ſet on fire by three in the afternoon, if ſufficient hoſtages for the payment of 30,000 pieces of eight within ſix days, were not immediately delivered; but at two in the afternoon, the priſoners returned from the enemy's camp, with two horſemen, who informed them that the Spaniards had agreed to this propoſal, and that the governor of Puna, who had been very inſtrumental in concluding the agreement, with an old gentleman taken on board one of the barks, were to remain as hoſtages for the performance of it, and that if theſe gentlemen were not thought ſufficient, theſe meſſengers offered to remain priſoners; which was refuſed, and they permitted to return to the camp, in order to bring back the agreement ſigned. The two hoſtages lay that night at the Engliſh quarters, and the next morning were put on board one of the ſhips, while the Engliſh drew off from the city with drums beating and colours flying, by which means the Spaniards were left at liberty to return to their houſes. Capt. Rogers bringing up the rear with a few men, picked up many piſtols, cutlaſſes, and pole-axes, which the

men had thrown away through lazineſs, as they marched, ſo weary were they grown of a military life. One circumſtance is worthy of mention. As Mr. Rogers was marching out of the town, he happened to miſs one John Gabriel a Dutchman; but took it for granted, that he was either killed or made priſoner; however, the poor fellow had taken up his quarters at a houſe where there was ſome excellent brandy, which he attacked ſo often, that it laid him on the floor, and he was in this condition when Capt. Rogers and his men quitted the place. Soon after, the maſter of the houſe returned, and finding the Dutchman ſtretched at his full length, and that it was difficult to diſcover whether he was dead or aſleep, reſolved to try the experiment, but firſt called in his neighbours, who adviſed him to ſecure the Dutchman's arms, which being done without any difficulty, they raiſed him up, and ſet him on his feet, when after a little tottering, he opened his eyes, began to ſtare about him, and ſeemed to appear not well ſatisfied at finding himſelf in ſuch company However, the honeſt Spaniard, his landlord, ſoon ſet his heart at reſt by reſtoring him his arms, and adviſed him to make all the haſte he could to join his companions, who were not yet embarked, when the Dutchman not needing many entreaties, ſet forward, and moving with all the alacrity imaginable, got ſafely on board. Capt. Rogers remarks, that this was the only man who had neglected his duty by getting drunk.

Capt. Cooke imagines, that the Indians and blacks carried off as much plunder as the Engliſh, for ſeveral of them were taken, as they went the rounds, loaded with goods, which they owned they had ſtolen, and he was afterwards informed that the inhabitants had given plate and money to the negroes to carry out of the town, and could never hear of it after. However, the plunder taken,

excluſive of the ranſom, was very conſiderable, it conſiſting of 230 bags of flour, beans, peas, and rice, fifteen jars of oil, 160 jars of other liquors, cordage, iron ware, and ſmall nails, about four half jars of powder, a parcel of clothing and neceſſaries, 150 bales of dry goods, about the value of 1200l. in plate, ear-rings, &c. ſome packs of indigo, cocoa, a ton of loaf ſugar, &c. However, abundance of goods were left in the town, beſides liquors of moſt ſorts, and ſea ſtores, with ſeveral warehouſes full of cocoa, ſome ſhips on the ſtocks, two ſhips unrigged, and four barks. The hoſtages informed us, that during the treaty 80,000 pieces of eight belonging to the king, were ſent out of the town, beſides their plate, jewels, and other things of the greateſt value, ſo that if the Engliſh had landed at firſt, and given them no time, they were well aſſured from all hands, they would have got at leaſt 200,000 pieces of eight in money, plate, and jewels, and yet that city had not been ſo poor for forty years paſt as it was then, there having been a fire about a year and a half before, which had burnt down the beſt part of the city, and occaſioned a very great expence in rebuilding it. The men, however, thought themſelves very happy, and all imaginable care was taken that every man concerned in the expedition ſhould find his account in it.

Guaiaquil, the metropolis of the province of that name in Peru, is about a mile and a half in length, and is divided into two parts, called the old and the new town, which are joined by a wooden bridge deſigned only for foot paſſengers, and is above half a mile long. The houſes in both towns amount to about 500, but being ſituated in a low boggy ground, is extremely dirty in winter. There is one regular ſtreet along the river ſide to the bridge, and from thence along to the old town. There are four churches, St. Jago, St. Auguſtine,

St. Francis, and St. Dominic. Before the church of St. Jago, there is a handſome parade, and before that of St. Dominic, a parade with an half moon, on which ſix guns might be planted, but there were none when this deſcent was made. Theſe churches were all adorned with altars, carved work, and pictures; and in that of St. Auguſtine, there was an organ. But the plate belonging to them was carried away; the prieſts and ſtudents being all gone into the woods. Some of the houſes were of brick, and the reſt of timber or bamboo ſplit, and ſome of them were decently furniſhed. In the merchants ſtore-houſes there were great quantities of meal, brandy, ſugar, clothing, cordage, and iron. The inhabitants had ſome calaſhes which ſeemed of little uſe except to carry them a ſtone's throw to church, eſpecially in winter, the land all about being ſo boggy, that no road could be made for them; and Capt. Cooke obſerves, that this ſwampy ground was full of the largeſt toads he ever ſaw, ſome of them being as big as an Engliſh two-penny loaf. The town is well ſituated for trade and ſhip building, it lying fourteen leagues from Point Arena, and ſeven leagues from Puna; it is governed by a corregidor, who is the chief magiſtrate, and is appointed by the king. The river is large and receives many ſmall ones that run into it; it has many villages and farm houſes on its banks, along which are abundance of mangroves and ſarſaparilla, which impregnating its waters are ſaid to render them of ſervice in the venereal diſeaſe; but when the floods come down from the mountains, the water is reckoned very unwholeſome, on account of its bringing down with it ſeveral poiſonous plants and fruits, among which is the manchanilla, a poiſonous kind of apple, that proves fatal to all the birds that taſte of it, and the Engliſh ſaw hundreds of them dead on the water while they were there. They alſo

obſerved many alligators in the river. They have great plenty of black cattle, ſwine, ſheep, goats, hens, ducks, and ſeveral ſorts of fowl unknown in England. They have likewiſe great numbers of carrion crows, which the Spaniards will not ſuffer to be killed, they preſerving them to devour the carrion. The ſhips here are built under ſheds.

The Engliſhman, who had lived ſome time in the town, told them that the December before, they had three weeks rejoicings for the birth of the prince of Aſturias, when they muſtered 1100 foot and 500 horſe, all in arms, which came from the country round about, beſides a much greater number unarmed. The inhabitants alone amount to about 2000, including Indians, mulattoes, and negroes. During this ſolemnity they baited 200 bulls to death, and ran at the ring with ſpears.

Capt. Rogers having proceeded with the barks a mile below the town, took his leave of them in the pinnace, which was double manned, with a deſign to get before them to the ſhips at Point Arena, and the next day, which was the 28th of April, reached Puna, where he met Mr. Duck and Mr. Hatley in the Beginning, with an empty bark they had taken. By day-light the next morning Capt. Rogers got on board, where every body was overjoyed at his return, after an abſence of twelve days on ſo dangerous an expedition. They had been very uneaſy at hearing no news of what was done, and the ſcarcity of water was ſo great, that for ſome time paſt, the priſoners had been allowed no more than a pint a day. Mr. Cooke and Mr. Fry had during this time been under much uneaſineſs on account of the priſoners, who had uſually their liberty given them by day, but at night they were ſhut up between decks; and on board the prize, which was not ſo ſecure, they were put in irons every evening, which were knocked off in the morning: but the priſoners in the ſeveral

veſſels were never ſuffered to have any correſpondence with each other, by which means they were kept ignorant of their own ſtrength, and of the weakneſs of their maſters.

On the 29th of April, Capt. Cooke diſpatched the Havre de Grace's boat well manned in purſuit of a veſſel that came in ſight in the afternoon, which immediately ſurrendered. This was a bark of about thirty tons burden, laden with Guaiaquil ſheep, 270 ſacks of flour, 200 ſugar loaves, ſome dried beef, with beans, peas, pomegranates, quinces, plums, and marmalade. She had ſix men on board, beſides the maſter, who had left Pulania ſeven days before, where orders had been received from Lima to keep a good look-out, as an Engliſh ſquadron was ſoon expected in thoſe ſeas; whence it appeared that the arrival of the conſort ſhips was not generally known.

Several days being paſt, without their receiving the ſtipulated ranſom from Guaiaquil, they began to think the corregidor intended to diſappoint them, and to put them off till ſuccours ſhould arrive from Lima; while the hoſtages repined at their fate, apprehending their being carried priſoners to England. However, on the firſt of May a boat arrived with part of the ranſom, on which many of the priſoners were ſet on ſhore; and on the 2d in the evening a boat arrived with 22,000 pieces of eight, which having taken on board, they ſent the boat back with a meſſage to the corregidor, that they intended to ſail the following day, and that if care was not taken to ſend the remainder of the money before their departure, they would take the hoſtages with them. Soon after Capt. Courtney took charge of the Havre de Grace, and fell down with her to Punta Arena, whither Capt. Rogers agreed to follow them the next morning, waiting only to take on board ſome black cattle, ſheep, hogs, plantains, cocoas, and other provi-

ſions; but before his departure he ſet the governor of Puna, who was one of the hoſtages, and ſeveral others on ſhore, making him a preſent of four ſick negroes, and a bale of damaged goods.

The next day a boat came with 3000 dollars in money and plate, which were taken on board the Duke, the men who brought it declaring that the other 3000 dollars would ſoon come, with 12,000 more to trade for goods. But it being ſuppoſed that this was only deſigned to keep them in the bay till a ſquadron of men of war arrived from Lima, they reſolved to make all poſſible diſpatch. However, the Beginning being ſmall, and of no further uſe, they ſold her to the Spaniards for about the value of 50l. in pearls, gold chains, &c. and put the priſoners on board her; but kept the pilot, a perſon who could ſpeak Engliſh, the preſident of Panama's ſon, and three remaining hoſtages; five black women were given to each of thoſe captains who had been great loſers.

On the 8th they ſailed for the Gallapagos iſlands, but on the 11th of May, above twenty men on board the Duke, and near fifty on board the Dutcheſs, fell ſick of a malignant fever, and the number of diſeaſed on board both ſhips hourly increaſed. This diſorder had been certainly contracted at Guaiaquil, where a few weeks before their arrival, multitudes of people had been ſwept away by a contagious diſeaſe, ſo that the ground under the churches, which were their uſual burying places, was filled ſo faſt, that they were obliged to dig a large hole of about a rood ſquare, cloſe to the great church, where guard was kept; and the Engliſh lying ſo long in the church, were ſurrounded with unwholeſome ſmells.

On the 17th they diſcovered land, and the next day were within four leagues of two large iſlands, which almoſt join together: and ſoon after they diſcovered ſeveral others. They then ſent out one

of the boats in ſearch of water, having firſt agreed on a place of rendezvous, at a certain rock, in caſe of ſeparation; but after two unſucceſsful attempts, the boats returned, reporting that the large iſland in which they landed, was covered with nothing but looſe rocks, like cinders, and that the earth was ſo parched, that it broke into holes under their feet, which made it probable that it had been a volcano, but there was much ſhrubby wood and ſome greens upon it.

The 20th, 21ſt, and 22d, they ſpent in plying among the iſlands, where the boats, which went on ſhore, found abundance of tortoiſes, large rock-fiſh, and guanas, which are larger here than in the Weſt-Indies, and of ſeveral colours and ſizes, and one ſort has no prickles on the back.

On the 22d Mr. Hatley in one of the prize barks, with five ſailors, four blacks, and an Indian on board, with only water on board for two days, and one of the prize ſhips, were miſſing, nor was there any ſign of their returning, though lights were kept all night on the top-maſt-head of the Duke and Dutcheſs, and guns inceſſantly fired, upon which Capt. Rogers went in ſearch of them with the Duke, the Havre de Grace, and a bark, and in a few hours came up with the prize ſhip near the eaſtermoſt iſland, but could get no intelligence of Mr. Hatley, whom they gave up for loſt.

On the 26th, it was agreed to ſtand over to the main in ſearch of water, which none of the iſlands had hitherto been able to afford, and on the 6th of June, one of the ſailors heard ſome of the black and Indian priſoners talk of murdering all the Engliſh ſailors, and running away with the ſhip; but on being charged with having concerted this deſign, they acknowledged they had ſome talk on that ſubject; but nothing was ſeriouſly meant by it. However, to prevent any ill conſequence from theſe cabals, Capt. Rogers divided them among

the other veſſels. The ſame day a ſhip of eighty tons burthen, laden with iron, cloth, &c. ſtruck to the Dutcheſs, after a ſhort chaſe. She was named the St. Thomas de Villa Nova, was bound from Panama to Guaiaquil, and there were about forty people on board, among whom were two women, and ſeveral paſſengers of diſtinction, one of whom was Don Juan Cardoſa, who was going to take upon himſelf the poſt of Governor of Baldivia.

The next day they caſt anchor on the eaſt ſide of the iſland of Gorgona, and on the 8th the boats of the Duke and Dutcheſs brought in another prize, a bark of 15 tons, ſhe was called the Golden-Sun, and had ten Spaniards and Indians, with ſome negroes, but no other cargo, except a little gold-duſt and a large gold chain, which together were worth about 500l. with which they intended to have purchaſed ſalt and brandy at Guaiaquil.

In the evening of the 9th of June, a council of all the officers, except Capt. Rogers, who was indiſpoſed, was held on board the Dutcheſs, in which after examining the priſoners, it was reſolved to ſteer for the port of Mangla, and leaving the ſhips in a ſafe road, they were to row up the river in their boats, till they could ſurprize ſome canoes, that were better adapted to ſtem the tides of the river, and with theſe they were to proceed as far as the rich gold mine of Barbacore, or St. Juan, where they were perſuaded to believe, that they might be certain of obtaining a conſiderable booty, ſince the Spaniards there had not had the ſmalleſt intimation of an enemy's being ſo near.

As Capt. Rogers had before agreed to conſent to whatever they ſhould reſolve, they hoiſted ſail for Mangla, at about twelve the ſame night. But Mr. Rogers hearing their determination, reſolved to diſcourſe with Mr. Morell and ſome other priſoners, on whoſe knowledge he depended, and by them he was informed, that whoever had adviſed

the council to take ſuch meaſures, either deſigned to betray them, or were ignorant of the affair; for Mangla was not only barren and unfrequented; but the road extremely narrow and full of ſhoals, with ſo ſtrong a tide, that there was great danger of the ſhips being run on ſhore. The priſoners alſo aſſured him, that the banks of the river were all the way inhabited by a race of people ſtrongly attached to the Spaniards, who would uſe all poſſible methods to annoy them with their poiſoned arrows from the covert of the woods, and that the river was ſo narrow, that by felling trees acroſs it, they might effectually prevent their retreat, and cut them all off. Upon this information Capt. Rogers ſent for Mr. Courtney and Mr. Cooke, who being informed of the danger to which they were going to expoſe themſelves, changed their courſe in order to return to Gorgona, where they reſolved to careen, and fit out the Havre de Grace to act as a third conſort, under the command of Capt. Cooke.

On the 13th of June they caſt anchor near the ſhore of Gorgona, where the Dutcheſs was appointed to careen, and the Duke to lie on guard for fear of being ſurprized by the enemy; as ſoon as ſhe was turned out, the Duke was careened, and in about 14 days they were again ready to put to ſea, to the great ſurprize of the Spaniſh priſoners, who obſerved that the careening one of the king's ſhips at Lima, where there were all kinds of neceſſaries, and artificers ready to lend their aſſiſtance, generally took up ſix weeks.

On the 29th, tents were ſet up on ſhore for the ſick, who were by this time much better than when they firſt came to the iſland; for the bare lying on ſhore, and having an opportunity of walking about, had ſuch an effect, that they ſoon gathered ſtrength enough to return to their duty. Thoſe who were well went with the Spaniſh pri-

ſoners into the woods, where they were ſhewn what timber was proper for them, and theſe priſoners gave them every aſſiſtance in their power. The Engliſh now laid out ground for a rope-yard, ſet up a tent for the coopers, another for the ſmith, another for a ſail-maker, and another for a block-maker, and for the better diſpatch of buſineſs, each had his crew to act under him. It is not to be ſuppoſed that theſe people were all excellent in their profeſſions. However, they carried on their work very well, neceſſity and practice teaching them many reſources, which the ableſt man in theſe ſeveral branches of buſineſs would never have thought of. Thus a manufactory was ſettled on the iſland of Gorgona, and as every officer had his particular charge, and was overſeer of one diſtinct kind of artizans, he had buſineſs enough upon his hands, and every body was buſily employed. The Spaniſh priſoners looked with amazement at their working in that climate from break of day till night; but what moſt of all ſurprized them, was that the Engliſh found out ſome new expedient, whenever they were preſſed with new difficulties, and when in the judgment of the Spaniards it it was impoſſible for them to proceed any further.

The great work on which they were employed, from the 29th of June to the 9th of July, was fitting out the Havre de Grace; in which time ſhe being completely finiſhed, they gave her the name of the Marquis, and manned her from the Duke and Dutcheſs, when a good entertainment being provided, they ſaluted each of the other ſhips with three huzzas from on board her, and liquor being diſtributed among the ſhips companies, they drank her majeſty's and their owners health, and to their own ſucceſs, in conjunction with their new conſort. Soon after two of the main-deck guns were ſent from the Duke, and the ſame number from the Dutcheſs, which with four taken at Guaiaquil, and

twelve that were before in the ſhip, made twenty very good ones, the carriages being all new, or ſo well repaired that they were as good as if they had been mounted in England. Her compliment were ſixty-one white men, and twenty negroes, who as has been already ſaid, were under the command of Capt. Edward Cooke.

The next thing of conſequence was to carry the priſoners over to the continent, for they were ſeventy-two in number, and had they been diſmiſſed before might have alarmed the coaſt. The two Morells, Don Antonio and Don Juan Cardoſa, were diſmiſſed among the reſt, and at their departure ſeemed highly ſatisfied with the treatment they had received, and in particular the latter, who had been ill uſed by a Jamaica privateer, which he once fell in with near Porto Bello. This gentleman, as we have already obſerved was, when taken, bound to Baldivia, of which he was governor. He was a lively, genteel man, of about thirty-five years of age, and had been a colonel in the Spaniſh ſervice. The Morells promiſed to return in a day or two, with as much money as they could raiſe, towards purchaſing ſuch of the prize-goods as remained on hand, which being only valuable on the coaſt of the South Sea, the captains declared they would otherwiſe burn, together with the galleons in which they were contained.

The bark and both pinnaces were employed in landing the priſoners, and at the ſame time they took a ſmall village, and returned to the ſhips with ſeven horned cattle, a few goats, four hogs, ſome fowl, and about fifty buſhels of Indian wheat. On the 17th in the morning, the two Morells, and ſome other gentlemen, returned in a large canoe, with ſome money and fruit, and purchaſed ſome goods, at ſo reaſonable a rate, that they deſired to be permitted to come again with as much money as they could raiſe, a requeſt which was

not at all diſpleaſing to the captains, while there was no apparent danger of an enemy capable of hurting them.

The next day a negroe, who had the misfortune to be bitten by a ſpeckled ſnake, died in leſs than twelve hours, though the ſurgeon exerted all his ſkill to ſave him. The iſland of Gorgona abounds with this ſpecies of ſnakes, ſome of which are as thick as a man's leg, and three or four yards long: they are of an amphibious nature, and one of them was the ſame day found by the men upon the forecaſtle, it having conveyed itſelf on board by the help of the cables.

On the 19th, there were found on board the Marquis 500 reams of pope's bulls, which had been a free gift from his holineſs to his catholic majeſty, and would have produced a conſiderable revenue in theſe parts, they being ſold from three rials to five pieces of eight each, according to the circumſtance of the purchaſer, who was thereby excuſed from faſting ſome particular days, from hearing maſs, and other eccleſiaſtical injunctions, the neglect of which, would otherwiſe have been deemed ſins. Some of theſe were thrown overboard, and the remainder uſed as fuel, and thruſt into the fires kept under the kettles.

Soon after five of the negroes belonging to the ſhip, hid themſelves in the woods, in order to deſert to the Spaniards when their maſters were departed, one of whom being retaken, was ſeverely puniſhed, and three others were caught two days after, being forced by hunger to quit their aſylum.

On the 20th, a canoe came on board, in order to trade, with ſome money, and a quantity of limes, fowls, and other refreſhments, and this was ſucceeded by another canoe on the following day. On the 27th, the two Morells came again on board with all the money they could get, and

told the captains that the country being much alarmed, they found much difficulty in getting leave to come to them ; that the governor of Barbacore, at the head of about 200 men was upon the coaſt, in order to prevent the people's trading with them, and to oppoſe them in caſe they ſhould land.

In rummaging the galleon, there were found beſides 320 bales of linen, woollen and ſilks, boxes, of knives, &c. a great quantity of bones in ſmall boxes, ticketed with the name of ſaints, ſome of whom had been dead ſeven or eight hundered years, with an infinite number of crucifixes, roſaries, religious toys in wax, images of ſaints, made of many ſorts of wood, ſtone, and other materials, to the amount of thirty tons, with 150 boxes of books, all of which had been brought from Italy, and were deſigned for the jeſuits of Peru ; but being of ſmall value to the Engliſh ſailors, they ſatisfied themſelves with taking a ſample of moſt ſorts, to carry as curioſities to England, and left the reſt.

But we muſt not here omit a particular circumſtance. A large wooden image of the Virgin Mary, which had been either dropt or thrown overboard, was driven to the north point of the iſland, where ſome Indians from the continent being fiſhing, they took it up and brought it to the ſhore, and ſetting it up with great devotion, wiped it dry with cotton, while ſuch as were not thus employed ſtood around, greatly amazed, praying and telling over the beads, fancying that the image ſweat. Soon after ſome of the people came on board one of the ſhips, and reported that the ſweat increaſed in proportion as they wiped it, and ſhewing the cotton to the linguiſt, which they fooliſhly believed to be wet with the ſweat of the Holy Virgin, told him, that they ſhould keep it as a choice relic. The Morells obſerving captain Rogers to laugh at

the ſtory, endeavoured to cure him of his infidelity, by telling him one that appeared ſtill more marvellous, and, if poſſible, more abſurd. Some years before there being a proceſſion in the cathedral church of Lima, which was then very richly furniſhed with ornaments in gold, ſilver, and jewels, the image of the virgin was in particular adorned with diamonds and pearls. Theſe ſplendid ornaments were, according to cuſtom, left in the church without a guard, till the night after the proceſſion, from the opinion that none would dare to be ſo ſacrilegious as to rob the church; but an unfortunate thief reſolving to enrich himſelf by one daring action, broke into the church at midnight, made up to the image, and attempted to take off a ſtring of rich pearls from the virgin's wriſt, when catching him faſt by the arm, ſhe held him, till being found in that poſture, he was, on the credit of this miracle, apprehended and executed.

On the 29th, a committee for regulating the plunder was held on board the Duke, when ſeveral rewards were given to thoſe who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in order to encourage the men to behave gallantly for the future; but notwithſtanding the generoſity ſhewn by the commanders on this occaſion, a dangerous mutiny was, a few days after, ſet on foot, which might have proved of fatal conſequence, had it not been happily diſcovered by the ſteward of the Dutcheſs, who happened to overhear the ring leaders debating on the manner in which they ſhould proceed; for above ſixty of them had bound themſelves under certain articles, which they had reſpectively ſigned, to ſtand by each other, till they had obtained juſtice, as they termed it, in regard to the diviſion of the plunder, which they imagined unfairly diſtributed. Four of the chief promoters of this ſcheme, among whom was the perſon that wrote the articles, were

immediately laid in irons, but were ſoon after ſet at liberty, upon their aſking pardon, and promiſing to behave better for the future; the captains thinking it would be very dangerous for them to proceed rigorouſly with a few, when ſo many were concerned. To remove all ſeeds of diſcontent, Capt. Rogers gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they ſhould be ſatisfied to the utmoſt in every legal demand, promiſed to increaſe their ſhares of plunder, and concluded with remonſtrating to them, in a pathetic manner, the danger of engaging in ſuch raſh and unjuſtifiable conſpiracies.

On the 7th of Auguſt it was agreed to give up to Meſſrs. Morell and Navarre their reſpective ſhips, with ſome negroes, and all the goods they could carry away, the latter contracting to give 1200 pieces of eight for the bark and the goods on board, and to pay the remaining 3000 for the ranſom of Guaiaquil, which ſums he was to bring to Manta, where they were to expect him within twelve days. Some ladies who were on board Navarre's ſhip, acknowledged at their departure the great civilities they had received during their being detained.

While they were at this iſland, one Michael Kendal, a free negroe of Jamaica, who had for ſome time lived as a ſlave in the village the Engliſh had plundered on the continent, came on board, and related the following remarkable account of an unſucceſsful attempt made upon the gold mines. He obſerved, that when war was declared at Jamaica, he embarked under the command of Captain Edward Roberts, who was joined in commiſſion by the governor of Jamaica with the captains Golding, Pilkington, and Raſh. They had 106 men, and deſigned to attempt the mines of St. Jago at the bottom of the gulph of Darien. When having ſailed fifteen days up the river in canoes, and afterwards travelled ten days by land, the Spaniards and Indians became alarmed, laid ambuſcades,

and ſhot many of them. At length, the enemy having aſſembled upwards of 500 men, and the Engliſh being reduced to about ſixty, including the wounded, the Spaniards, after a ſmall ſkirmiſh, in which the Engliſh had the advantage, ſent them a flag of truce, when being in want of proviſions, quite tired out, and not knowing their way back, they ſurrendered their arms, on condition of being made priſoners of war. They were treated for three days very well by the Spaniards; but on the fourth, when they thought all danger had been paſt, an order came from the chief Spaniſh officer to cut them all off, which the Indians and Spaniſh troops cruelly did, as theſe poor diſarmed men ſat at victuals, and all were in a few minutes maſſacred, except a Scotchman, a Frenchman, an Engliſh boy, and twelve free negroes, whom, at the interceſſion of a prieſt, they kept for ſlaves. This man who was one of them, was ſold and ſent to the mines, where he cleared at leaſt three pieces of eight a day for his maſter, and was afterwards removed to this place. The reſt of theſe unhappy captives were farther up the country, where they had no opportunity to eſcape.

Gorgona lies in 3°. north latitude, about ſix leagues from the main, and is about three leagues in length, but narrow. At a diſtance it appears like three hills. It is full of wood and tall trees, among them is the Palma Maria, of which the Spaniards make maſts, and from it a balſam iſſues, that is eſteemed efficacious in ſeveral diſeaſes. It has a variety of trees and plants peculiar to theſe hot climates. The animals found here are monkeys, guinea-pigs, hares, lizards, and lion lizards, which change their colours, and are fine creatures The people caught here a very diſagreeable creature, which Mr Rogers ſuppoſes to be of the monkey-kind; it had ſome little reſemblance of one of thoſe

animals of the middling ſize, only its hair was thicker and longer, its face, eyes, and noſe were leſs, and more wrinkled and deformed, its ears were ſmaller, its teeth longer and ſharper, its hinder parts more clumſy, and its body thicker in proportion, with a very ſhort tail; beſides, inſtead of five fingers, it had only three on each paw, with the claw longer and ſharper. On their letting this animal go at the lower part of the mizen-ſhrouds, it was about two hours in getting to the maſt head, which a monkey would have performed in half a minute; it moved as if it walked by art, keeping an equal ſlow pace, as if all its movements had been directed by concealed clock work. The Spaniards very properly call it a Sloth, and ſay it feeds on the leaves of a certain lofty tree, and when it has cleared one, before it can get down, and walk a little way to find and climb another, it will become lean and almoſt ſtarved.

There are alſo in this iſland ſeveral ſpecies of great and ſmall ſnakes, which are ſo numerous, that it is dangerous for a man to walk the iſland, for fear of treading on them.

Near the coaſt are ſeveral ſorts of fiſh unknown in our ſeas, beſides great plenty of mullets, but they are hard to be caught with a hook and line, this Mr. Rogers ſuppoſes to be occaſioned by the clearneſs of the water, which enables them to ſee and avoid the hook. Here are likewiſe abundance of pearl oyſters, and ſome white coral.

As to birds there are not many, except a large ſort of fowl called caracoſos; but in the rocks there are a multitude of bats, which fly about the iſland in the night.

Having completed their buſineſs at the iſland of Gorgona, they ſet ſail on the 7th of Auguſt, and about ten days after took a bark of 70 tons burthen, bound from Panama to Lima; but ſhe had very little on board beſides paſſengers, from

whom they learned that the whole coaſt was alarmed, and the inhabitants under the greateſt apprehenſions, they having dreaded a viſit from the Engliſh, ever ſince their taking Guaiaquil.

On the 25th, the barks entered the bay of Tecames, and in a few hours the conſort ſhips came to an anchor near them. Mr. White, the linguiſt, ventured aſhore without orders, with a Spaniſh priſoner, and landed juſt as it grew dark, oppoſite the houſes, when ſome Indians, lying in ambuſh, fired upon them, while others diſcharged their arrows and lances, though they called out to them in Spaniſh that they were friends. They had however the happineſs to eſcape being ſhot, and to hide themſelves all night, during which time thoſe on board concluded that they were either killed or taken priſoners: but at day-light they called again to the Indians, and prevailed on them to trade, provided their padre, who lived ſix leagues off, would give his conſent. The linguiſt told them there was a padre on board; and they deſiring to ſee him, he was ſent aſhore, where he wrote a letter to the prieſt of the place, earneſtly recommending a trade, and expreſſing the many civilities ſhewn to him and the other Spaniſh priſoners. At the ſame time he let the people know how eaſily the Engliſh could land and burn the church and houſes; but that they were full of charity, and kind to thoſe in their power. This had a good effect, and they promiſed that the next day they would trade with them, whether the padre conſented or not. On the boats returning with the prieſt to the ſhip, he brought with him one of the Indians, who entered it with a look of great ſurprize, and was much delighted with the great cabin, in which he laid himſelf down; he was naked, and lay on his ſide, gazing wildly with a look of indolence and admiration, for an hour together, till Capt. Rogers, giving him a dram of brandy, a few toys,

and ſome old baize for clothing, led him out, and he was carried aſhore. At the ſame time the reſt of the boats, full of caſks, with the men well armed, rowed up a creek for freſh water, when accidentally meeting with one of the chief Indians, who was painted and armed with bows and arrows, he adviſed them to go higher up the river, otherwiſe the water would be brackiſh; they offered him a dram out of a quart bottle of ſtrong brandy, on which he drank the major part of it at once, and went away extremely pleaſed, telling them that the ſhould be ſupplied with what they wanted from the village.

At night they received a letter from the padre, to aſſure them that he would not interrupt their trade; and the next day they ſold on ſhore baize and other goods for black cattle and hogs. It was obſerved that the red paint with which the Indians were at firſt daubed, was a declaration of war; but after they had amicably treated with the Engliſh, they rubbed it off, though they ſtill kept their arms. A preſent was made them of three wooden images of Spaniſh ſaints, to adorn their church, and this they accounted a great favour; and Mr. Rogers ſent a feathered cap to the chief Indian's wife, which was likewiſe well received, and in return he had a preſent of bows and arrows.

The boats having brought a ſufficient quantity of black cattle, hogs, plantains, water, and other proviſions, and the ſhips being heeled and cleaned, they ſet the prieſt aſhore, and gave him, according to his deſire, a handſome young female Negro, of whom he was fonder than became his function, with ſome baize, linen, and other things, as a reward for promoting their trade. They alſo ſent a male Negroe and a piece of baize, to the Tecames padre, as an acknowledgment of his kindneſs; and afterwards put on ſhore their negroes.

J. Seymour Sc.

Capt.n Rogers attacked by a Seal.

The village of Tecames lies in a bottom, and conſiſted of only ſeven houſes and a church, all of them low-built, of ſplit bamboos, and covered with palmetto leaves; they were erected on poſts, and hog-ſties under them; and to aſcend to them they had pieces of timber notched inſtead of ſtairs. The men employed themſelves in killing wild ſwine with bows and arrows, and in ſtriking fiſh with lances, at both which they were very dexterous. The woman had only a piece of baize tied about the waiſt, and carried their children at their backs.

On the 31ſt of Auguſt they ſailed from this bay, with a fortnight's freſh proviſions on board, in hogs and cows. The next day they ſaw ſeveral grampuſſes and young whales, engaged with the thraſhers and ſword-fiſh, and abundance of water-ſnakes, one of which was coming up the ſide of Mr. Cooke's ſhip, but the men beat it off; the Spaniards ſay, that there is no cure for ſuch as are bit by them.

On the 10th of September they made one of the Gallapagos iſlands, and there laid in a ſufficient ſupply of excellent turtle, beſides a good quantity of fiſh, which they ſplit and ſalted. The Spaniards reckon fifty of theſe iſlands, but only one of them yelds freſh water They abound with ſea and land birds; among the latter are hawks and turtle doves, both ſo tame as to ſuffer themſelves to be knocked down with a ſtick: here are alſo ſeals, ſo fierce as to attack any man who comes in their way; this Capt. Rogers experienced; he was on the level ſand, when one of theſe animals came open mouthed at him out of the water, as quick and as fierce as the moſt angry maſtiff let looſe. He defended himſelf by ſticking a pike he held in his hand into the creature's breaſt, on which he retired a little, but came on again, and this was repeated, till having received three wounds, it retreated

ſnarling and ſhewing his long teeth out of the water.

On the 17th of September they ſet ſail again, and on the 4th of October came up with iſlands called Tres Marias, where they ſtaid till the 24th, to take in wood and water; but it was not without difficulty they found a ſtream that was wholeſome, all the ſprings they met with, except two, from which they ſupplied themſelves, being not only bitter, but ſtrong purgatives, occaſioned either by their paſſing through beds of minerals, or among bitter roots of plants. While they were there, ſeven negroes out of ten, that were ſent on ſhore to cut firing, deſerted into the woods.

The middlemoſt of the three iſlands, named Tres Marias, is ſituated in 21°. 35'. north latitude, at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt of Mexico, they lie in a range at nearly equal diſtances from each other, about four leagues aſunder. The largeſt, which is the weſtermoſt, is about five leagues in length; the middlemoſt about three, and the eaſtermoſt ſcarce two; near the ſmalleſt are two or three broken white iſlands; one of the outermoſt appeared, at a diſtance ſo like a ſhip under ſail, that a ſignal was given for a chaſe, but they ſoon found ther miſtake.

The trees and ſhrubs Mr. Cooke obſerved there were lignum vitæ, birch, ſilk-graſs, prickle-pear, euphorbium, and many others. They ſaw abundance of different ſorts of parrots, doves, wood-pigeons, black-birds, thruſhes, red-birds, humming-birds, many hawks of various fine colours, and bats with the ears and noſe reſembling thoſe of a mouſe; many guanas, ſome racoons, rabbits, and excellent hares, which are much leſs than ours. There were ſuch numbers of green turtle, that two men might ſometimes turn an hundred in one night; the fiſh were old wives, rock-fiſh, cavollot, yellow-tail, gat-fiſh and many others.

On the 29th of October 1709, they ſailed from the iſlands of Tres Marias, and ſteering to the north, on the 26th ſent the bark on the ſhore of Puerto Seguro, in California, in ſearch of water. The men ſaw ſome Indians, who paddled to them on bark-logs, but were at firſt afraid of coming up to them; but being prevailed upon to accept a knife or two, and ſome baize, they gave them in return a couple of live foxes, a deer ſkin, and two bladders of water.

On the 19th ſome of the crew ventured on ſhore on bark-logs; for the ſea was ſo high, they did not dare attempt landing with their boats. Upon this occaſion the good-natured Indians leaped into the ſea to guide the bark-logs, and on their getting aſhore the Indians led each of the Engliſh up the bank, where was an old man, who had a deer-ſkin ſpread upon the ground, on which they kneeled before the Engliſh, who followed their example, and kneeled too; the Indians then wiped the water off the faces of the Engliſh with their hands. The ceremony being ended, each of the ſailors, ſupported by two of the natives, was led ſlowly through a narrow path to their huts, where they were welcomed by a very dull kind of muſic, which was made by an Indian rubbing two jagged ſticks acroſs each other, and humming to it. They then all ſat down on the ground, and having regaled their gueſts with broiled fiſh, attended them back in the ſame manner, with the Indian muſic. The natives brought a ſample of every thing they had, except their women, children, and arms: ſome of their knives, which were made of ſharks teeth, and a few other of their curioſities, the ſailors brought with them on board, and preſented to Capt. Rogers.

The place where they landed was inhabited by above 200 Indians, who lived in huts made of boughs of trees and reeds, built in the form of

bowers, with a fire before the entrance, and there they lay and ſlept. The men were naked, and the women have only a ſhort petticoat made of ſilk-graſs, deer ſkins, or thoſe of pelicans, which do not reach to the knee; ſome of them wear pearls about their necks, having firſt notched them round, and faſtened them with a ſtring of ſilk-graſs; for Capt. Rogers ſuppoſes that they know not how to bore them. Theſe pearls were mixed with little red berries, ſticks, and bits of ſhells, which they conſidered as ſo fine an ornament, that though the Engliſh had glaſs beads of ſeveral colours, they would not accept of them. The men are ſtrait and well limbed, live by fiſhing and hunting, and have a greater value for European knives, ſciſſars, and nails, than for gold or ſilver. They have long black hair, and are of a dark brown complexion Their arms are bows and arrows, with which they are excellent markſmen, and will ſhoot a ſmall bird flying. Their bows are about ſix feet long, made of a hard yet pliant wood; the ſtring is formed of ſilk-graſs; and the arrows, which are four feet and a half in length, are made of jointed cane, with four long feathers, about a foot from the notch for the ſtring; at the other end is fixed a piece of hard wood, pointed with a ſharp taper flint The women, who are far from handſome, employ themſelves in gathering and grinding grain on a ſtone, and in making of fiſhing-lines. They are an honeſt people, and would not take the leaſt thing without leave; they were willing to aſſiſt the Engliſh in filling the water, and to ſupply them with whatever they could get. The bay of Puerto Seguro has plenty of albacores, dolphins, mullets, bream, and other fiſh, which the natives are very dexterous at ſtriking with their wooden inſtruments from their floats, which are made of five pieces of wood, and are moved with ſhort paddles; they frequently

leap off the floats and ſtrike the fiſh when they are near the bottom: they alſo dive and bring up pearl oyſters from the rocks. Some of the ſailors told Capt. Rogers, that they ſaw one of them dive with his inſtruments, and while he was under water, put up his ſtriker with a fiſh upon the point of it, which was taken off by another, who watched by him on a bark-log. To this that gentleman ſays he gave the more credit, as he himſelf threw ſome ruſty knives over-board, on purpoſe to try theſe excellent divers, and they ſeldom miſſed catching a knife before it was ſunk more than three or four fathoms.

From the mountains down to the ſea the land is rocky, but intermixed with pleaſant vales and plains. The ſoil is ſandy, and in this place produces only a few ſhrubby buſhes of different ſorts, that afford theſe people ſeveral kinds of fruit and berries, which ſupply the place of bread: in particular here are round berries reſembling thoſe of the ivy, which they dry at the fire, and the inſide looks and eats ſomewhat like parched peas. Another ſort, like a currant, has a white pulp, and eats tartiſh, has a large ſtone within that reſembles a bird's eye, and a kernel that taſtes agreeably. They have a ſmall black ſeed, which they grind upon ſtones, and then eat it by handfuls. Capt. Cooke's men uſed to thicken their broth with it, and ſaid it ſerved as well as flour; but when boiled in water, it taſtes ſomething like coffee. They have likewiſe a fruit growing in pods, the outſide of which is green and peels off, and within, upon a ſtalk, are many black ſeeds like the head of a clove, which the natives alſo eat, they having the taſte and ſmell of green peas. Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral other plants, roots, and ſeeds, and a kind of yams reſembling thoſe of the Weſt-Indies. They have alſo many ſorts of birds, as teal, heron,

wild ducks, and among many others, a fine bird, of the ſize of a black-bird, but its back is of a dark green, its belly yelloviſh, the bill and tail are black, and it has a red tuft of feathers among the dark ones on its head.

During the time the ſhips ſtaid there the weather was ſerene and pleaſant, and ſome of the men, who went in the bark about fifteen leagues to the northward to view the country, ſaid it was there covered with tall trees; and the ſkins that were found among the people ſeemed a proof that they had their hunting ſeaſons, when they went farther up into the country to engage in the chace. They had nothing like gardens or plantations about them. The long ſtay of the Engliſh made the natives grow familiar with them, and they frequently went on board to view the ſhips, which they mightily admired. A ſhirt was given to one of them, but he ſoon tore it in pieces, and gave it to his companions to put the ſeeds in they uſe for bread.

They now began to deſpair of taking the Manilla ſhip, a month having elapſed ſince the uſual time of her paſſing that way; but, to the general joy, ſhe was diſcovered on the 21ſt of December. Capt. Rogers having no ſpirituous liquors, ordered on the 22d a large kettle of chocolate to be made for the ſhip's company; and after prayers began the engagement, which continued very ſmart for ſome time, when ſhe ſtruck. She had a large Manilla ſhip in company but had parted with her three months before: this prize was called Nueſtra Senora de la Encarnation, and the priſoners ſaid the cargo in India amounted to two millions of dollars: ſhe mounted twenty guns and carried 193 men, of whom nine were killed and ten wounded. Capt. Rogers received a ſhot through the left cheek, that ſtruck away a great part of his upper jaw, with ſeveral of his teeth, ſome of which dropped

upon the deck where he fell; he however loſt no men, and only one wounded beſides himſelf.

On the 24th, the Dutcheſs and Marquis went out of the harbour, in order to cruize for the great Manilla ſhip, and the ſame day two centries were placed to give a good look-out on the top of the hill, with orders if they ſaw three ſail in the offing, to make three wafts with their colours. The ſame afternoon the ſignal being made from the hill, all the priſoners, amounting to 274, being ſecured aboard the bark, without arms, rudder, ſails, or a boat, twenty-two hands were left to guard them; Capt. Rogers, though in a very weak condition, and his head and throat much ſwelled, got under ſail, and continued the chaſe all night; but he could not, however, get up before the Marquis was diſabled. He inſtantly engaged: the attack was renewed ſeveral times, till a cheſt of arms and cartouch boxes took fire, when all the three ſhips being much damaged, it was thought proper, conſidering the force of the enemy's ſhip, and the great number of men on board, to purſue no farther.

After this bloody, though fruitleſs engagement, in which they loſt many of their men, and Capt. Rogers was again unfortunately wounded, having part of his heel-bone taken off by a ſplinter, they returned to Puerto Seguro, where they ſpent their time till the 7th of January in refitting, wooding, and watering. They had for ſome time been at ſhort allowance of bread, but had now the pleaſure to find as much on board the Manilla ſhip they had taken, as with what they had left of their old ſtore, might be ſufficient to ſerve them in the long run they were about to take acroſs the South Sea.

They now reſolved to man the prize, to which they gave the name of the Batchelor frigate, and Mr. Fry and Mr. Stratton were, after much diſ-

pute, voted to command her, as Captains, and have the full charge of navigating the veſſel under Captain Dover, but his office was only to ſee that nothing ſhould be done contrary to the intereſt of the owners, and the ſhip's company. They then appointed the iſland of Guam as the place of rendezvous, and prepared to ſail for the Eaſt-Indies.

On the 10th of January, 1710, they weighed from Puerto Seguro, but did not loſe ſight of land till the 12th; they however continued their voyage with ſuch ſucceſs, that on the 10th of March they came within ſight of Serpana and Guam, two of the Ladrone iſlands. The next day they ſteered to the latter, having been all day viewed by the natives in different proas, who paſſed by them with prodigious celerity, but could not be induced to come on board. They were under an abſolute neceſſity of procuring a ſupply of proviſions, eſpecially of bread and flour, of which they had not enough for fourteen days, at the ſhorteſt allowance; it was therefore reſolved to get ſome of the inhabitants on board, and to detain them as hoſtages, in caſe they ſhould be obliged to ſend any of their men to the governor. They accordingly took two Spaniards, who hailed them and came on board as they were turning into the harbour with Spaniſh colours. One of theſe they detained by way of hoſtage, while the other was ſent aſhore with two linguiſts, carrying a letter to the governor of the place, in which they demanded the liberty of dealing in a peaceable manner for proviſions and refreſhments; for which they would not only pay immediately, but behave in every other reſpect like friends, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to act openly as enemies.

The next morning the Dutcheſs's pinnace was ſent aſhore with a flag of truce, to the crew of which the natives behaved with great cordiality, pro-

miſing to ſupply them with ſuch proviſions as they could ſpare, provided the governor would give them leave. About noon one of the linguiſts returned, and brought with him three Spaniſh gentlemen, who brought an anſwer from the governor, expreſſing his readineſs to accommodate them with whatever the iſland afforded. In return to this polite declaration, a repreſentative was ſent from each ſhip to wait upon the governor, and make him a handſome preſent for his civility and readineſs to ſupply them.

On the 16th in the morning ſeveral of the officers went in the pinnace to accept of an invitation they had received from the governor to dine with him on ſhore. They were treated with all imaginable friendſhip and reſpect; 200 men were drawn up in arms at their landing, and the officers and clergy of the iſland conducted them to the governor's houſe, which was a very handſome edifice, conſidering where it was ſituated. They were entertained with at leaſt ſixty different diſhes, and when they took their leave were ſaluted with a volley of ſmall arms. In return they preſented the governor with two negroe boys dreſſed in liveries, twenty yards of ſcarlet ſerge, and ſix pieces of cambric, with which he ſeemed extremely pleaſed.

The iſland of Guam is about forty leagues round: the anchoring place is on the weſt ſide, and about the middle is a large cove, with ſeveral houſes built in the Spaniſh taſte, with accomodations for the officers and crew of the Acapulco ſhip, the ſettlement being made on purpoſe for that ſhip to take in neceſſaries and refreſhments in her way to Manilla. There are about 300 Spaniards in this and the neighbouring iſlands, and moſt of the natives are converts to their religion. They told Capt. Rogers that they had there eight prieſts, ſix of whom taught ſchool, beſides performing their

office as prieſts. They had alſo ſchools taught by Mulattoes and Indians, who had learned the Spaniſh tongue, which is underſtood by moſt of the natives.

The iſland of Guam is full of hills, dales, and ſtreams of good water; it produces the bread-fruit, the cocoa nut, and other fruit natural to the ſoil and climate, beſides oranges, lemons, citrons, muſk and water melons, which were originally brought there by the Spaniards. The indigo plant grows wild in ſuch abundance, that were they induſtrious, they might make great quantities of that valuable article of commerce, but being ſo remote and out of the way of trade, they made no uſe of it. They have plenty of cattle: but they are lean, ſmall, and generally white. The hogs here make the beſt pork in the world, from their feeding almoſt entirely on cocoa nuts, and bread fruit: and were not the Spaniards extremely ſlothful, they might have moſt of the delicacies and even ſuperfluities of life, of their own growth.

The governor lives on the north ſide of the iſland, where there is a ſmall village and a convent; and this is the chief ſettlement of the Spaniards, who marry with the natives. There were not at that time above four Spaniſh women on the iſland: but though the people had plenty of proviſions, and lived pretty much at their eaſe, yet money was ſo ſcarce among them, that they could not raiſe a 1000 dollars in the whole iſland to purchaſe commodities from the ſhips, which they would gladly have done. There were there about 200 ſoldiers, who received their pay from Manilla by a ſmall ſhip which arrived once a year, and brought them clothes, ſugar, rice, and liquor.

The native Indians are tall, ſtrong, and of a dark olive colour; they all go naked, except wearing a clout before, and the women a little petticoat. The men are dexterous at flinging, and make uſe

of pieces of clay of an oval form, which they burn till it is as hard as marble; they are excellent markſmen, for the Spaniards ſay they ſeldom miſs hitting any mark, and throw with ſuch force as to kill a man at a conſiderable diſtance.

Having wooded, watered, and each ſhip received its dividend of proviſions, which in that commanded by Capt. Rogers amounted to fourteen ſmall bullocks, ſixty hogs, ninety-nine fowls, twenty-four baſkets of Indian corn, fourteen bags of rice, forty-four baſkets of yams, and 800 cocoa nuts, they on the 24th of March got under ſail, and after ſuffering ſeveral ſtorms, and being again under the apprehenſions of wanting proviſions, they on the 25th of May made Bouton; to which iſland both the Duke and Dutcheſs ſent their pinnaces, which ſoon returned with plenty of cocoa nuts, and reported that the inhabitants, who ſpoke the Malayan tongue, behaved with great civility. At this time, the veſſels endeavoured in vain to find any ground, though the Duke ſounded with a line of eighty fathoms, and almoſt run the bolt-ſprit aſhore. In the mean while ſeveral canoes brought fowls, Indian corn, cocoa nuts, pumpkins, &c. which they exchanged for goods with the ſailors. Some officers that were ſent aſhore in the yawl and pinnace, were received by the king and his nobility in a very courteous manner, and promiſed a ſufficient ſupply of all neceſſaries. Both his majeſty and all his attendants were bare-footed, and had no other covering than a cloth faſtened round their waiſts.

After cruizing round the head-lands, and ſounding for three or four days, they caſt anchor in between thirty and forty fathoms water. The Duke's boat, which had been ſent on ſhore, about this time returned with ſome Malayans in a canoe, who had been prevailed on by preſents to come on board, but they were of no uſe, there being

none on board either of the ſhips able to diſcourſe with them; and Capt. Dover, who had a linguiſt on board, refuſed to ſend him, though upon ſo neceſſary an occaſion, neither could thoſe people be prevailed upon to go aboard the Batchelor, and they were impatient to be gone, though Mr. Rogers treated them with ſweetmeats; however, at parting they made ſigns, and pointing to the land, called out Bootoo.

It was then determined to ſend Mr. Dampier, who was Capt. Rogers's pilot, attended by Mr. Vanburgh, Mr. Connelly, and the linguiſt, to diſcover the town, and wait on the king to deſire a ſupply of proviſions, which they would gladly pay for. The next day a meſſenger from the king came on board with a letter from the Engliſh officers, who had been received very courteouſly, and promiſed a ſupply of proviſions in caſe they could come to an agreement. Thoſe on board ſhewed the meſſenger and thoſe who came with him, ſamples of what they had to diſpoſe of, made them preſents, and entertained them genteelly. They made the king a preſent of a biſhop's mitre, which was gratefully accepted, and at the meſſenger and his attendants going off, they were ſaluted with five guns and three huzzas from each ſhip.

The inhabitants now brought fowls, Indian corn, and cocoa nuts, to exchange with the Engliſh; but they held them at a high price. Two days after the pinnace returned from the town, with a myſterious account of the proceedings on ſhore, and Mr. Dampier brought a ſmall quantity of proviſions as a preſent for the commanders; but the two other officers were left behind to diſpatch what they could agree for. The next day ſeveral of the principal inhabitants came from the town with the Portugueſe linguiſt, under the pretence of looking at the goods, and carrying ſamples to the king, when the Engliſh, by their thus trifling,

began to be afraid that they ſhould get nothing of them at laſt, and ſent the Dutcheſs's pinnace to hurry away the officers as faſt as poſſible, with what proviſions they had already got, and to agree with the Portugueſe linguiſt.

By the 4th of June they had got a pretty good ſupply of proviſions from the country people, and determined to waſte their time no longer in that place, but ſail to Batavia. The next day the pinnace returned with Mr. Connelly, who informed the Engliſh, that the king of Bouton would have obliged them to take a quantity of proviſions at an extravagant price, and detained Mr. Vanburgh, till the money was paid. The ſame day ſome of the nobility came with four laſts of rice and a caſk of arrack, which for diſpatch ſake was immediately agreed for, and when they were gone the Portugueſe linguiſt came to ſell ſome proviſions of his own, but brought no news of the Engliſh on ſhore, which raiſed a ſuſpicion that the natives had ſome ill deſign. They therefore reſolved to keep him till their boat returned; but he being jealous on account of the cool reception he met with, got out of the ſhip into his own canoe, and rowed away as faſt as poſſible; but he was ſoon overtaken by the yawl, when all who worked at the canoe jumped into the ſea, but were taken up by the Dutcheſs's pinnace, and the linguiſt was again brought aboard, where ſeeing he was likely to be confined, he ſent his canoe to town to deſire the immediate diſmiſſion of the Engliſh. On the 7th Mr. Vanburgh and all the men returned in the pinnace, having parted very friendly with the king; but they could not get a pilot for any money. Therefore, after having diſmiſſed the linguiſt, they began to unmoor the ſhips.

The iſland of Bouton is ſituated in 5°. 20'. ſouth latitude, and is near thirty leagues long. The inhabitants ſay the king can raiſe 50,000 men, and

that all the adjacent iſlands are ſubject to him. Their poverty being a ſufficient ſecurity, they are not afraid of the Dutch. They ſpeak the Malayan language, are of a ſmall middle ſize, and well ſet; they are of a dark olive complexion, and have very indifferent features. They profeſs the Mahometan religion; but know little of it, except bathing, abſtaining from hog's fleſh, and in keeping many wives. No ſpice grows here, but a few nutmegs.

On the 8th of June they weighed anchor, and the following day came up with a veſſel bound for Maccaſſar, a Dutch ſettlement on the ſouth of Celebes. The maſter, who was a Malayan, agreed to pilot them to Batavia for a ſmall gratuity, provided it was kept ſecret from the Dutch. On the 20th they entered the road of Batavia, and landed there on Wedneſday the 21ſt by their own reckoning; but on Thurſday, June the 22d, by the Dutch account, they having loſt eighteen hours by ſailing round to the weſtward, and the Dutch got ſix hours in going to the eaſtward, which makes one whole day, as is always the caſe in ſailing round the globe.

Two days after the commanders waited on the Governor, who having approved their commiſſion as private ſhips of war, promiſed them all the aſſiſtance poſſible, but was not very exact in keeping his word; for it was long before they could obtain leave to careen their ſhips. However, on the 23d of July they hove down upon Horn Iſland; proviſions were ſold to them at an extravagant high price, and they could not obtain an audience of the Governor when wanted, without bribing the ſecretary and guards.

This iſland was very inconvenient to careen at; but they could not be permitted to do this work at Unherſt, where the Dutch careen their ſhips, neither where the Dutch carpenters ſuffered to aſſiſt them; ſo that they were obliged to make uſe

of Malayan caulkers. To complete theſe oppreſſive meaſures, the government would not permit any of the Dutch to puchaſe the Marquis, which the officers agreed to part with, ſo that they were obliged to ſell her at a low price to the firſt Engliſh bidder.

Capt. Rogers recovered his health very ſlowly. While he was at Batavia he had a muſket-ſhot cut out of his cheek, which had been miſtaken for a part of his jaw-bone; and ſeveral ſplinters were extracted from his heel. When he went on board he found that he had been hitherto a ſtranger to the humour of the ſhip's company, he now ſaw them hugging each other, and bleſſing themſelves that they were come to ſuch a glorious place for punch, where they could have arrack for 8d. a gallon, and ſugar at 1d. a pound. They were ready to quarrel who ſhould make the next bowl; for now labour was worth more than liquor, though a few weeks before a bowl of punch would have been worth half the voyage.

On the 12th of October, having laid in a ſupply of proviſions, and the men and officers being furniſhed with ſuch neceſſaries as they wanted, they ſet ſail for the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 28th of December came to an anchor in the Cape harbour. They ſaluted the Dutch fort with nine guns, and the compliment was returned with ſeven. Here they waited for a convoy till the beginning of April, and on the 6th they ſet ſail; the whole fleet conſiſted of ſixteen Dutch and nine Engliſh ſhips.

During this voyage from the Cape to Holland, the moſt exact diſcipline was obſerved by the whole fleet, and all imaginable reſpect ſhewn to the Dutch Admiral, though he only commanded a trading ſhip belonging to the Eaſt-India company. He was a man of abilities and great good nature.

He behaved very reſpectfully to the Engliſh, often entertaining the commanders on board his ſhip.

On the 23d of July they all arrived in the Texel, when the Dutch fired all their guns, and the Engliſh ſaluted the commodore and flag with ſeveral rounds. They weighed anchor from the Texel on the 22d of September, and on the 2d of October 1711, arrived ſafe in the Downs, having ſpent juſt three years and two months in ſailing round the world, reckoning the day they had loſt as above-mentioned.

THE

VOYAGE

OF

COMMODORE ANSON,

ROUND THE WORLD.

Commodore Anſon on board the Centurion of 60 guns and 400 men, together with the Glouceſter, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Tryal ſloop, attended by two victuallers, ſailed from St. Helen's on the 18th of September, 1740, and after many perilous adventures returned to Spithead with the Centurion alone, in the year 1744, after a voyage of three years and nine months.

IN the year 1736, a war with Spain appearing inevitable, it was propoſed to cut off the principal reſources of the Spaniards, and to deprive them of the returns of that treaſure, which alone could enable them to carry on a war againſt Great-Britain. For this purpoſe ſeveral projects were examined, and reſolutions taken by the council, and it was at length determined that Mr. Anſon ſhould be ſent with a ſquadron to the South Seas, but the execution of this project was delayed, and indeed, ſuch meaſures were taken as had a natural tendency to render it ineffectual; for though a conſiderable number of land forces were at firſt allowed, it was at length, from ſome ſtrange infatuation, agreed, that only 98 mariners ſhould go on board, and that inſtead of land forces, their place ſhould be ſupplied with 500 invalids, collected from the out-penſioners of Chelſea College. Of theſe the moſt crazy and infirm were choſen for

this laborious and hazardous undertaking, and thoſe who had the free uſe of their limbs deſerting, none were left for this important enterprize, but the moſt decrepid and miſerable objects that could be collected out of the whole body. The voyage was alſo retarded by the commodore's being obliged to take on board two agent victuallers, with merchandize to the value of 15,000l. which they were to exchange on the coaſts of the South Sea for proviſions. By theſe, and many other delays, the voyage was deferred till the ſeaſon of the year when the weſterly winds are generally conſtant and very violent, and the difficulties and danger of the paſſage the greateſt; and in ſhort, till the Spaniards were fully acquainted with the commodore's deſtination.

On the 18th of September, 1740, the commodore, for fear of ruining the enterprize, weighed from St. Helen's with a contrary wind, and cleared the channel in four days. The ſquadron conſiſted of the Centurion of 60 guns and 400 men, commanded by George Anſon, Eſq. the Glouceſter of 50 guns and 300 men; the Severn of 50 guns and 300 men; the Pearl of 40 guns and 250 men, the Wager of 28 guns and 160 men; the Tryal ſloop of 8 guns and 100 men, and two victuallers, which were pinks, the largeſt of about 400, and the other of about 200 tons burthen. But the winds continuing contrary, they had the mortification to be forty days in their paſſage from St. Helen's to Madeira, though it is often performed in ten or twelve.

Madeira is ſituated in a fine and healthful climate, and is compoſed of one continued hill of a conſiderable height, which extends from eaſt to weſt. On the ſouth ſide, the declivity is cultivated, and interſperſed with vineyards and country ſeats, belonging to the merchants. The only conſiderable town in the iſland is Fonchiale, which is ſituated on the ſouth at the bottom of a large bay;

it is defended by a high wall with a battery of cannon, and a fortified caſtle, which ſtands on the Loo, a rock that riſes above the water at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore. This town is the only place of trade, and the only place where it is poſſible for a boat to land, and even there a violent ſurf continually beats upon the beach. The iſland is juſtly famous for its excellent wines, which ſeem deſigned by Providence for the refreſhment of the inhabitants of the torrid zone.

Here Mr. Anſon learned from the governor, that a few days before his arrival ſeven or eight ſhips, ſuppoſed to belong to the Spaniards, had appeared to the weſtward of the iſland, on which Mr. Anſon diſpatched an officer in a clean light ſloop to diſcover who they were, but the officer returned without being able to get ſight of them. Mr. Anſon had great reaſon to ſuſpect that theſe ſhips were appriſed of his deſigns, and were diſpatched to prepare the Spaniſh ſettlements for his reception, and the juſtice of theſe ſuſpicions afterwards appeared, from his diſcovering that the court of Spain had actually fitted out a ſquadron to attend his motions, and traverſe his projects.

The commodore having at this iſland ſupplied the ſhips with as much wine, water, and other refreſhments as they could take in, weighed anchor on the 3d of November, and the day after gave orders to the captains, that in caſe the ſquadron ſhould be ſeparated, to rendezvous at the iſland of St. Catherine's, and on the 19th the Induſtry pink having fulfilled her charter party, and her cargo being divided amongſt the other veſſels, ſhe parted company, being bound for Barbadoes, to take in a freight for England, but in her return from that iſland was unhappily taken by the Spaniards.

In this long run, the men grew remarkably ſickly, ſo that many died, and great numbers were confined to their hammocks, on which account

the commodore ordered ſix air ſcuttles to be cut in each ſhip, to let in more air between the decks. They were afflicted with calentures, a kind of fevers that are not only terrible while they laſt, but even the remains of the diſeaſe often proved fatal to thoſe who thought themſelves recovered, and always left them weak and helpleſs. This diſorder daily increaſing while they continued at ſea, they were filled with extraordinary joy at the diſcovery of the coaſt of Braſil, on the 16th of December in the morning, and on the evening of the 18th, they caſt anchor at the north-weſt point of the iſland of St. Catherine's.

They perceived at a diſtance two fortifications which ſeemed intended to guard the paſſage between the iſland and the main, and ſeeing two forts hoiſt their colours and fire ſeveral guns, probably as ſignals for aſſembling the inhabitants, the commodore concluded that his ſquadron had alarmed the coaſt, and therefore to prevent confuſion, ſent a boat with an officer on ſhore to compliment the governor, and deſire a pilot to carry the veſſels into the road. The governor returned an obliging anſwer, and having ſent them a pilot they anchored in a large commodious bay on the continent, called by the French Bon-Port, and the next day moored at St. Catherine's.

As it was neceſſary that the care of the ſick ſhould firſt employ their thoughts, the commodore gave orders, that each ſhip ſhould erect two tents, one for the diſeaſed, and the other for the ſurgeon and his aſſiſtants; after which about eighty ſick perſons were landed from the Centurion, and nearly as many from the other ſhips, in proportion to their number of hands. This neceſſary duty being performed, the ſhips were next cleanſed, ſmoked, and every part well waſhed with vinegar. After which every method was taken to ſecure the veſſels againſt the tempeſtuous weather, the people

had reaſon to expect in their paſſage round Cape Horn.

St. Catherine's, though about nine leagues in length, is no where above two in breadth, and though it is of a conſiderable height, it can hardly be perceived at ten leagues diſtance, it being obſcured by the prodigious mountains behind it on the continent of Braſil.

This iſland is covered with a foreſt of trees, that retain their verdure in all ſeaſons. But it is ſo entangled with underwood, thorns, and briars, as to form an impenetrable thicket, except in ſome narrow paths made by the inhabitants for their own convenience, and theſe, with a few ſpots along the ſhore facing the continent, that are cleared for plantations, are the only uncovered parts of the iſland. The many aromatic trees and ſhrubs with which the woods abound, render them extremely fragrant. Theſe woods alſo ſpontaneouſly produce many kinds of fruit; and the productions of all climates thrive almoſt without culture, ſo that here are plenty of pine-apples, citrons, lemons, oranges, melons, apricots, peaches, grapes, and plantains. There are here alſo great plenty of pheaſants, but they are far from taſting ſo well as thoſe in England. They have likewiſe ſmall wild cattle reſembling buffaloes; theſe, however, are but indifferent food, their fleſh being looſe, and of a diſagreeable flavour. The other proviſions of the iſland are parrots, monkies, and particularly fiſh of various kinds, which laſt are exceeding good, and eaſily caught. The water alſo is excellent, and is as fit for the ſea as that of the Thames.

Theſe advantages are counterbalanced by many inconveniences. The woods and hills that ſurround the harbour and prevent a free circulation of the air; and there is ſuch a quantity of vapour produced by the vigorous vegetation of

the place, that the whole country is all the night covered with a thick fog. In the day-time the men were peſtered with muſketoes, reſembling the gnats in England, but more venemous in their ſtings; and when theſe retired at ſun-ſet they were ſucceeded by an infinite number of ſand-flies, which make a mighty buzing, though they are ſcarcely to be perceived with the naked eye. Their bite raiſes a ſmall pimple in the fleſh, which is ſoon attended with a painful itching, like that ariſing from the harveſt bug in England. In ſhort the ſailors had a melancholy proof of the unhealthfulneſs of the climate; for the Centurion alone buried no leſs than twenty-eight men after her arrival, and yet the number of her ſick was in the ſame interval increaſed from eighty to ninety-ſix.

The ſquadron alſo ſuffered many inconveniences from the form of government, and new regulations lately eſtabliſhed in the iſland. It was formerly a retreat for vagabonds and out-laws who fled thither from all parts of Braſil, and who having plenty of proviſions, but no money, ſupported themſelves without the aſſiſtance of any neighbouring ſettlements. While in this ſituation they were extremely hoſpitable and friendly to ſuch foreign ſhips as came amongſt them; for as thoſe ſhips wanted only proviſions, and the natives wanted only clothes, the ſhips furniſhed them with the latter in exchange for the former, and both ſides were highly pleaſed with this traffic. But of late, ſince the diſcovery of the gold and diamonds on the oppoſite coaſt, they had been obliged to ſubmit to new laws and a new form of government. They had at this time, inſtead of their former ragged, bare-footed captain, a governor named Don Joſe Sylva de Pas, who had a garriſon of ſoldiers, lived ſplendidly, and had a better knowledge of the importance of money than his more honeſt predeceſſors, and therefore took ſeveral

methods of procuring it, which they were entirely unacquainted with. One of theſe was placing centinels at all the avenues to prevent the people ſelling refreſhments to the ſhips, except at ſuch extravagent prices as they could not afford to give, pretending he was obliged to preſerve proviſions for above one hundred families, with which he daily expected to have the colony reinforced. But this was not the worſt part of his conduct: he was deeply engaged in a ſmuggling traffic, in exchanging gold for ſilver, by which the kings of Spain and Portugal were defrauded of their fifth; and in order to ingratiate himſelf with the Spaniſh correſpondents, had the treachery to diſpatch an expreſs to Pizarro, the commander of the Spaniſh ſquadron, fitted out to traverſe Mr. Anſon's projects, and who then lay at Buenos-Ayres, in the river of Plate, with a particular account of every circumſtance he could ſuppoſe the enemy would be deſirous of being acquainted with.

While they were at this iſland they diſcovered a ſail to the offing, and the commodore ſuſpecting that ſhe might be a Spaniard, gave orders for manning his eighteen oared boat, which he ſent to examine her, under the command of his ſecond lieutenant, before ſhe arrived within the protection of the forts. But ſhe proving a Portugueſe brigantine from Rio Grande, the lieutenant behaved with the utmoſt civility, and even refuſed to accept a calf which the maſter would have forced upon him as a preſent. Notwithſtanding this, the governor was greatly offended at Mr. Anſon's ſending the boat, and repreſented it as a violation of peace ſubſiſting between the crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. This ridiculous bluſtering was at firſt imputed to no deeper cauſe than Don Joſe's inſolence; but as he proceeded to charge the lieutenant with behaving rudely, opening letters, and attempting to take by violence the very calf he

had refuſed to receive as a preſent, there was reaſon to ſuſpect, that he raiſed this groundleſs clamour only to prevent their viſiting the brigantine when ſhe ſhould put to ſea again, and diſcover the ſecret of his ſmuggling correſpondence with the neighbouring governors.

The ſquadron being refitted, and a ſupply of freſh proviſions taken in, it ſet ſail from St. Catherine's on the 18th of January, 1741, in order to proceed to a deſert and inhoſpitable coaſt, and a more boiſterous climate than any they had yet experienced; and three days after they had a moſt violent ſtorm, attended with ſo thick a fog, that it was impoſſible to ſee at the diſtance of two ſhips length, ſo that the ſhips could not diſtinguiſh one another; however, the next day at noon, when the fog diſperſed, Mr. Anſon diſcovered all the ſhips of the ſquadron except the Pearl, which did not join him till near a month afterwards. However, in this ſtorm the Tryal ſloop was a great way to the leeward; for ſhe had loſt her mainmaſt, and for fear of bilging, had been obliged to cut away the raft, the commodore therefore bore down with the ſquadron to her relief, and a great ſwell ſtill continuing, the Glouceſter was ordered to take her in tow, and again ſtand to the ſouthward.

On the 18th of February they diſcovered a ſail, when the Severn and Glouceſter were ordered to give chaſe; but Mr. Anſon perceiving it to be the Pearl, which had been ſeparated from the ſquadron in the ſtorm, a ſignal was made for the Severn to rejoin the ſquadron, and to leave the Glouceſter alone in the purſuit; but to the ſurprize of the ſquadron it was obſerved, that on the Glouceſter's approach, the people on board the Pearl increaſed their ſails, and ſtood from her. The Glouceſter notwithſtanding this came up with them, when ſhe found their hammocks in their nettings, and every thing ready for an engagement. The Pearl having

joined the commodore, lieutenant Salt informed him, that on the 10th inſtant he had ſeen five Spaniſh men of war, which for ſome time he imagined to belong to the Britiſh ſquadron, and that he had ſuffered the commanding ſhip, which wore a red broad pendant, exactly reſembling the commodore's, to come within gun-ſhot of him before he diſcovered his miſtake; but finding that it was not the Centurion, he crowded from them with all his ſail, and happily eſcaped, though the whole ſquadron continued the chaſe all that day.

On the 18th of February the ſquadron came to an anchor in the bay of St. Julian, on the coaſt of Patagonia, when the Tryal was immediately put in repair; and as this port is a convenient rendezvous in caſe of ſeparation, for all cruiſers bound to the ſouthward, a deſcription of it, and of the coaſt of Patagonia, cannot be unacceptable to the curious.

The country ſtiled Patagonia extends from the Spaniſh ſettlements in South America, to the Streights of Magellan. It is very remarkable, that though the whole country north of the river Plate is ſtored with large quantities of great timber, yet no trees of any kind are to be met with ſouth of that river, except a few fruit trees planted by the Spaniards near Buenos-Ayres: thus the whole eaſtern coaſt of Patagonia, extending 1200 miles in length, and as far back as any diſcoveries have been yet made, has no other wood than a few inſignificant ſhrubs.

The land however appears to be compoſed of downs, of a dry gravelly ſoil, covered with tufts of long coarſe graſs, interſperſed with barren ſpots, where nothing is to be ſeen but gravel. In many places this graſs feeds immenſe herds of black cattle, a few of which were brought over by the Spaniards after their firſt ſettling at Buenos-Ayres,

and theſe have multiplied to ſuch a ſurpriſing degree, that they have ſpread ſo far into the different parts of the country, that they are not conſidered as private property; many thouſands of them being annually ſlaughtered by the hunters merely for their hides and tallow. Theſe hunters are mounted on horſeback, and armed with a kind of ſpear, which, inſtead of having a blade at the end, fixed in the ſame line with the wood, is fixed a-croſs. With this, they purſue the beaſt, and the hunter who comes behind, hamſtrings him, after which the beaſt ſoon falls, without being able to riſe again, when the hunters cruelly leave him and purſue others, who are ſerved in the ſame manner. Sometimes indeed a ſecond party attends the hunters to ſkin the cattle as they fall; but it is ſaid that at other times, they chooſe inhumanly to ſuffer the poor creature to languiſh in torment till the next day, from an opinion that the anguiſh endured by the animal facilitates the ſeparation of the ſkin from the carcaſe.

Beſides the black cattle annually ſlaughtered for their tallow and hides, many of them are taken alive, without wounding them for the uſe of agriculture and other purpoſes. This is performed with almoſt incredible dexterity. The hunters, who are mounted on horſeback, take a very ſtrong thong of ſeveral fathoms in length, at one end of which is a running nooſe; they hold it in the right hand, and it being properly coiled up, and the oppoſite end faſtened to the ſaddle, they ride at a herd of cattle, and when they come within a certain diſtance of the beaſt they intend to catch, throw the thong with ſuch exactneſs, that they never fail to fix the nooſe about his horns. The beaſt generally runs as ſoon as he finds himſelf entangled; but the horſe having greater ſwiftneſs, attends him till a ſecond hunter throws another nooſe about one of its hind legs, and then both

horſes inſtantly turn different ways, by which means the beaſt is preſently overthrown, and while the horſes ſtill keep the thongs upon the ſtretch, the hunters alight, and ſecure him in ſuch a manner, as eaſily to convey him wherever they pleaſe. They alſo, in the ſame manner, nooſe horſes; and there are not wanting perſons of credit who aſſert, that by the ſame method, they catch even tygers.

The horſes, which were originally from Spain, are not only prodigiouſly encreaſed, but have run wild even to a greater diſtance than the black cattle, and though many of theſe are fine ones, yet their numbers render them of ſuch little value, that the beſt of them are often ſold in the neighbouring ſettlements, where money is alſo plentiful, for a dollar a piece.

Throughout this whole country there are alſo conſiderable numbers of vicunnas, or Peruvian ſheep; but theſe being remarkably ſhy, and extremely ſwift, cannot be killed without difficulty. On this coaſt too there are vaſt numbers of ſeals, and a prodigious variety of ſea fowls; the moſt remarkable of theſe are the penguins, which in ſhape and ſize reſemble a gooſe; but inſtead of wings have ſhort ſtumps like fins, that are of no uſe to them except in the water. A principal diſadvantage in this country is the ſcarcity of freſh water, which however has been ſometimes found in ſmall quantities; but the ponds and ſtreams are generally brackiſh.

On this part of the coaſt, which at port St. Julian is not above 300 miles over, there ſeem to be but few inhabitants; but in the neighbourhood of Buenos-Ayres, where the continent is near four times as broad, and the climate much milder, they are ſufficiently numerous, and excel the more ſouthern Indians in activity and ſpirit. In their bravery they nearly reſemble the gallant Indians of

Chili, who have frequently ſet the power of Spain at defiance, have often ravaged their country, and ſtill remain independent. They are generally excellent horſemen, and extremely expert in the uſe of all military weapons except fire-arms, which the Spaniards are very ſolicitous to conceal from them; and indeed the beſt way of ſubverting the Spaniſh power in America, ſeems to be that of giving due encouragement to theſe Indians, and thoſe of Chili.

The Tryal being refitted, which was one of their principal employments at the bay of St. Julian, and the only occaſion of their ſtay, the commodore held a council of the principal officers on board the Centurion, and informed them, that he was ordered to endeavour to ſecure ſome port in the South Seas, where the ſhips of the ſquadron might be careened and refitted, and propoſed to attack Baldivia, the principal frontier of Chili; to which the council unanimouſly agreeing, new inſtructions were given to the captains of the ſquadron, importing, that in caſe of a ſeparation, they were to make the beſt of their way to the iſland of Nueſtro Senoro del Socoro, where they were to cruize only ten days; when, if they were not joined by the commodore, they were to proceed and cruize fourteen days off the harbour of Baldivia; and if not joined by the reſt of the ſquadron, to direct their courſe for the iſland of Juan Fernandez. It was alſo ordered that no ſhip ſhould keep at a greater diſtance from the Centurion than two miles, without an unavoidable neceſſity.

Theſe regulations being eſtabliſhed, the ſquadron weighed anchor on Friday the 27th of Febuary in the morning; but the Glouceſter not being able to purchaſe her anchor, was left a conſiderable way a-ſtern, and obliged to cut her cable, and leave her beſt bower behind. On the 4th of March, when they were in ſight of Cape Virgin

Mary, the afternoon being very bright and clear, moſt of the captains took that opportunity to pay a viſit to the commodore; but while they were in company, they were all greatly alarmed by a ſudden flame burſting from the Glouceſter, ſucceeded by a cloud of ſmoke; but their apprehenſions were ſoon removed, by the information that the blaſt was occaſioned by a ſpark from the forge lighting on a quantity of gunpowder, and other combuſtibles, which an officer on board was preparing for uſe, in caſe it ſhould happen that they ſhould engage the Spaniſh fleet; and that it had been extinguiſhed before the ſhip had received the leaſt damage.

The ſquadron found that in theſe high latitudes, fair weather was of a very ſhort duration, and that when it was remarkably fine it was a certain preſage of a ſucceeding ſtorm. The fine afternoon juſt mentioned ended in a moſt turbulent night, ſucceeded by a dreadful ſtorm the next morning, which continued all day; but at midnight the wind abated, and the ſucceeding morning they diſcovered the land called Terra del Fuego, which afforded a very uncomfortable proſpect, it being of a ſtupendous height, and every where covered with ſnow.

On the 7th of March they began to open the ſtreights, and had a proſpect of Statenland, and iſland, which in the wildneſs and horror of its appearance, far ſurpaſſed Terra del Fuego. It ſeemed entirely compoſed of inacceſſible rocks, which without the leaſt mixture of earth, terminated in a great number of ragged points, that aroſe to an amazing height; all of them were covered with ſnow, and on every ſide ſurrounded with frightful precipices, while the hills which bear them are generally ſeparated from each other by clifts through the main ſubſtance of the rocks, almoſt to their very bottoms; nothing can be imagined more

dreadful and gloomy; theſe ſtupendous chaſms appearing as if produced by frequent earthquakes. The ſquadron was hurried through theſe ſtreights by the rapidity of the tides in about two hours, though they are between ſeven and eight leagues in length. As theſe are uſually reckoned the boundaries of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, the men began to hope that their dangers were now almoſt at an end, and flattering themſelves that they had now nothing but an open ſea till they arrived at thoſe wealthy coaſts where all their wiſhes were centered, they imagined that they were on the point of realizing the golden dreams on which they had feaſted ſo long in imagination. Theſe pleaſing ideas were greatly heightened by the brightneſs of the ſky, and the ſerenity of the weather; for though the winter was advancing, yet the morning of that day was as mild and delightful as any they had ſeen ſince their departure from England; but they had ſcarcely reached the ſouthern extremity of the ſtreights le Maire, when all theſe pleaſing hopes were inſtantly loſt in the proſpect of immediately deſtruction; for before the ſternmoſt ſhips of the ſquadron were clear of the ſtreights, the ſky became ſuddenly obſcured, and the wind ſhifting to the ſouthward, blew in the moſt violent ſqualls, while the tide, which had hitherto favoured them, turned furiouſly and drove them to the eaſtward with prodigious rapidity, ſo that they were in the greateſt anxiety for the two ſternmoſt veſſels the Wager and the Anna Pink, fearing leſt they ſhould be daſhed to pieces on the ſhore of Statenland, which indeed they with the utmoſt difficulty eſcaped.

From this day, for about three months, they ſtruggled with ſuch dangers and diſtreſſes as are ſcarcely to be paralleled, and had a continual ſucceſſion of ſuch tempeſtuous weather, as ſurpriſed the oldeſt and moſt experienced mariners, who

confeſſed, that what they had hitherto called ſtorms, were inconſiderable gales compared with the violence of theſe winds, which raiſed ſuch ſhort and ſuch mountainous waves, that juſtly filled them with continual terror; for had but one of theſe waves broke over them, it would probably have ſent them to the bottom. The ſhips rolled inceſſantly, and the men were in continual danger of being daſhed to pieces againſt the decks and ſides of the ſhips; for though they took all poſſible care to ſecure themſelves from theſe ſhocks, by graſping ſome fixed body, yet many uſeful people were forced from their hold, and either killed or diſabled. Theſe tempeſts were rendered ſtill more miſchievous, from the manner of their approach; for if the men, after being frequently reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under their bare poles, ſometimes ventured to make ſail, with their courſes double reefed, and the weather proving more tolerable, would encourage them to ſet their topſails, the wind would ſuddenly return with redoubled force, and in an inſtant tear the ſails from the yards; and to increaſe the diſtreſs, theſe blaſts commonly brought with them a great quantity of ſnow and ſleet, which froze the ſails, and rendered both them and the cordage ſo brittle, as to ſnap upon the lighteſt ſtrain, while at the ſame time it benumbed the limbs of the people, and even diſabled many of them, by mortifying their fingers and toes. The Centurion, by labouring in this lofty ſea, in which ſhe frequently ſhipped great quantities of water, grew ſo looſe in her upper works, that ſhe let in the water in every ſeam, and ſcarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds.

On the 23d of March a violent ſtorm of wind, hail and rain, ſprung the main-yard of the Centurion, and the foot-rope of the main-ſail breaking, the main-ſail itſelf ſplit inſtantly to rags, and in ſpite of all their endeavours to ſave it, much the

greater part of it was blown over-board. This obliged the commodore to make a ſignal for the ſquadron to bring to, and the ſtorm flatning to a calm, endeavours were inſtantly uſed to repair the damage. They again got under ſail; but in twenty-four hours were attacked by another ſtorm, in which the Centurion had her main-ſhrouds and mizen-ſhrouds broke. After this, the weather for two or three days grew leſs tempeſtuous than uſual; but there was ſo thick a fog, that the Centurion was obliged to fire a gun almoſt every half hour, to keep the ſquadron together.

On the 31ſt, the people were alarmed by a gun fired from the Glouceſter, and a ſignal made to ſpeak with the commodore, on which the Centurion bearing down to her, it was found that the main-yard was broke in the ſlings. This was conſidered as a great misfortune, as it would detain them the longer in that inhoſpitable climate; therefore, to ſhorten this delay as much as poſſible, the commodore ordered ſeveral carpenters to be put on board the Glouceſter from the other ſhips, that the damage might be repaired with the utmoſt expedition. And the captain of the Tryal at the ſame time complaining that his pumps were bad, and the ſloop made ſo much water that he was ſcarcely able to keep her free, the commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ſhip. The next day the ſky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind beginning to freſhen and blow in ſqualls, indicated the approach of a ſevere tempeſt; and accordingly, on the 3d of April, there aroſe a ſtorm, which, from its violence and continuation, exceeded all they had hitherto encountered. The Centurion ſoon received a furious ſhock from a ſea, which breaking over the larboard quarter, ſtove in her quarter-gallery, and ruſhed into the ſhip like a deluge; at the ſame time the maſts and rigging were much damaged. This dreadful ſtorm

laſted three days. On the 8th ſeveral guns were fired, as ſignals of diſtreſs, when the commodore making a ſignal for the ſquadron to bring to, it was ſoon perceived that the Wager had loſt her mizen-maſt and main-top-ſail-yard, and the next day the Anna Pink had her fore-ſtay and the gammon of her bowſprit broke, and was in danger of having all her maſts come by the board.

They now began to flatter themſelves with hopes that their fatigues were drawing to a period, and that they ſhould ſoon arrive at a more hoſpitable climate; for towards the latter end of March they were, according to their reckoning, near ten degrees to the weſt of the weſtermoſt point of Terra del Fuego, and ever ſince had been ſtanding to the northward, with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather would permit; but theſe deluſions only ſerved to render their diſappointment more terrible; for on the 14th of April the weather, which till then had been hazy, clearing up, the Anna Pink, between one and two in the morning, made a ſignal for ſeeing land right a-head, which being but two miles diſtant, they were all in the greateſt danger of running aſhore; and had the wind blown with violence from its uſual quarter, or if the moon had not ſuddenly ſhone out, every ſhip muſt have periſhed. This land, to their great amazement, appeared to be Cape Noir, though they imagined they were ten degrees more weſterly. For the currents had driven them ſo ſtrongly to the eaſtward, that when they imagined they ran down nineteen degrees weſt, they had not really advanced half that diſtance. By this diſcovery they found themſelves obliged to ſteer once more to the ſouthward, and inſtead of approaching a warmer climate, were again to combat thoſe dreadful blaſts that had ſo often filled them with conſternation. To increaſe their apprehenſions, they were dreadfully enfeebled by the men falling

ſick and dying apace. Three days before they loſt ſight of the Severn and Pearl, and though the ſhips were ſpread out in ſearch of them, they never ſaw them more; whence it was concluded that they had run upon this land in the night, and had periſhed. Filled with theſe deſponding thoughts, they ſtood away to the ſouth-weſt, till the 22d of April, when they were in upwards of ſixty degrees of ſouth latitude, and ſix to the weſt of Cape Noir, in which run they had as favourable weather as could be expected: but on the 24th in the evening, the wind increaſed to a prodigious ſtorm, and the weather being extremely thick, the four other ſhips of the ſquadron ſeparated, nor did they meet again till they reached Juan Fernandez, and the Centurion, during this tempeſt, had her ſails rent to pieces, and much of her rigging broke.

The ſcurvy had now for a conſiderable time made its appearance, and had ſpread to ſuch an aſtoniſhing degree, that this dreadful diſeaſe carried off forty-three men from on board the Centurion only in the month of April, and double that number in May, after which it was ſtill encreaſing. The many forms wherein this deſtructive diſeaſe attacks the human body, are as aſtoniſhing as they are unaccountable. Its ſymptoms are inconſtant and innumerable, and ſcarcely did the complaints of any two perſons exactly reſemble each other; yet there are ſome ſymptoms more than the reſt, ſuch as large diſcoloured ſpots ſpread over the whole body, ſwelled legs, putrid gums, extraordinary laſſitude, ſurpriſing dejection of ſpirits, ſhiverings and tremblings, with a diſpoſition to be ſeized with unaccountable terrors on the ſlighteſt accident, and whatever damped the hopes of the men, added new vigour to the diſtemper, killed thoſe who were in the laſt ſtages of it, and confined thoſe to their hammocks who were before capable of ſome kind of duty. It often produced the jaun-

dice, pleurifies, rheumatic pains and putrid fevers; but what is moſt extraordinary, it forced open the ſcars of wounds which had been many years healed, and diſſolved the callous of a broken bone, which had been completely formed for a long time, ſo that the fracture ſeemed as if it had never been conſolidated. Many of the people, though confined to their hammocks, were cheerful, talked in a loud, ſtrong tone of voice, and eat and drank heartily; but on being only moved in their hammocks from one part of the ſhip to another, immediately expired. Others, truſting to their ſeeming ſtrength, reſolved to get out of their hammocks, but died before they could reach the deck; and it was common to ſee the men drop down dead, upon a violent effort of duty.

On the 8th of May the Centurion arrived off the iſland of Socoro, which was the firſt rendezvous appointed for the ſquadron; ſhe waited there ſeveral days to no purpoſe, in which ſhe was often in danger of being driven upon the rocks; for there were ſtill ſuch prodigious ſqualls, that with the greateſt difficulty they kept clear of the ſhore. In one of theſe ſqualls, which was attended with dreadful claps of thunder, a ſudden flaſh darted along the decks, with an exploſion like that of ſeveral piſtols, and as it paſſed wounded ſeveral of the officers and men.

There would be no end, were we minutely to deſcribe the diſaſters and terrors the people encountered on this coaſt, all which encreaſed till the 22d of May, when the fury of all the ſtorms they had hitherto endured ſeemed to be united, and to have conſpired their deſtruction. Almoſt all the ſails of the Centurion were ſplit, and great part of her ſtanding rigging broke, and a mountainous ſea taking her in her ſtarboard quarter, gave her ſo prodigious a ſhock, that ſeveral of the ſhrouds broke with the jerk, and the ballaſt and

ſtores were ſo ſtrangely ſhifted, that the ſhip afterwards lay on her larboard ſide. By this tremendous blow the people were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, from the dread of immediately foundering; but the wind abating, they endeavoured all they could to mend their ſails, and repair their damage, during which they were driven aſhore on the iſland of Chiloe; but the wind happily ſhifting to the ſouthward, they ſteered off land with only the main-ſail, the maſter and the reverend Mr. Walter, the commodore's chaplain, undertaking the management of the helm, while the reſt were employed in ſecuring the maſts and bending the ſails.

This was the laſt ſtormy weather they met with in that climate; for after a fortnight's cruize, without ſeeing any of the other ſhips, the Centurion that day got clear of the land, and the weather being pretty moderate, bore away for Juan Fernandez, which was thought to afford the only chance the men had left to avoid periſhing at ſea; for though the harbour of Baldivia was the next appointed rendezvous, it was no longer thought on, the ſole hope now left being that of ſaving the ſhip, and the few remaining lives on board. Time being now extremely precious, as four, five and ſix of the Centurion's men died in a day, they ſtood directly for that iſland; but not finding it in the poſition the charts had taught them to expect it in, they began to apprehend their being too far to the weſtward; and though the commodore himſelf was firmly perſuaded that he ſaw it on the morning of the 28th, his officers ſuppoſing it to be only a cloud, a ſuppoſition which the hazineſs of the weather made probable, it was, on a conſultation, reſolved to ſtand to the eaſtward, in the parallel of the iſland; but on the 30th of May, having a view of the continent of Chili, they had the mortification to find they had needleſsly altered their

courſe, when they were, in all probability, juſt upon the point of gaining the iſland. Thoſe who remained alive were entirely diſpirited by this new diſappointment, and the general dejection prevailing, added to the virulence of the diſeaſe, and the mortality encreaſed to a moſt dreadful degree.

To theſe calamities was added the painful circumſtance, that, on their ſtanding to the weſtward in queſt of the iſland, they were ſo delayed by calms and contrary winds, that it coſt them nine days to regain the weſting which they had run down in two, when they ſtood to the eaſtward. In this deſponding condition, with great ſcarcity of water, and the crew ſo diſeaſed that there were not above ten foremaſt men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even ſome of theſe lame, they ſaw the long-wiſhed-for iſland of Juan Fernandez, on the 9th of June, loſing, by this laſt miſtake, between ſeventy and eighty men, who would doubtleſs have been ſaved had they made the iſland when the commodore diſcovered it on the 28th of May; but notwithſtanding this, it will hereafter appear, that this miſtake was providentially the means of the preſervation of all who ſurvived this ſeeming misfortune.

Though the Centurion again diſcovered the iſland of Juan Fernandez on the 9th of June at day-break, yet her people were all that day and the next night in getting in with the land; and in the middle watch the debility of the people was ſo great, that the lieutenant could only muſter two quarter-maſters and ſix foremaſt men; ſo that had it not been for the aſſiſtance of the officers, ſervants, and boys, it might have been impoſſible to have reached the iſland after they had got ſight of it. To this wretched condition was the Centurion, a ſixty gun ſhip, reduced, which three months before had paſſed the ſtreights le Maire, with be-

tween four and 500 men, almoſt all of whom were in health and full vigour*.

On the 10th in the afternoon, they got under the lee of the iſland: they ranged along it at about two miles diſtance, and being now near the ſhore, obſerved that the country, which at a diſtance ſeemed to be extremely mountainous, ragged and irregular, aſſumed a very different appearance. The broken craggy precipices were in moſt places covered with woods, and between them appeared the fineſt vallies, clothed with the moſt beautiful verdure, and watered with many ſtreams and caſcades. Such a ſcene, ſo beautifully diverſified, muſt have been delightful to an indifferent ſpectator; but in the diſtreſſed condition of the Centurion's men, who were in a manner languiſhing for the land, and its vegetable productions, a ſituation of mind which always attends the ſcurvy, it is not to be conceived with what tranſport and eagerneſs they viewed the ſhore, and how impatiently they longed for the greens, the freſh water, and the other refreſhments then in ſight; and Mr. Walter obſerves, "That thoſe only who have endured a "long ſeries of thirſt, and can readily recal the "deſire and agitation which the ideas alone of "ſprings and brooks have at that time raiſed in "them, can judge of the emotion with which they "eyed a large caſcade of the moſt tranſparent "water, which poured itſelf from a rock near one "hundred feet high into the ſea, at a ſmall diſtance "from the ſhip." Thoſe who had been long confined to their hammocks, now exerted all the ſtrength they had left in crawling up to the deck

* To avoid the dreadful diſtreſſes endured by the ſquadron in this long and dangerous paſſage, Mr. Walter adviſes all ſhips who ſail to the South Sea not to paſs the ſtreights le Maire, but to run to the ſouth as far as the latitude of ſixty-one or ſixty-two degrees, and never to attempt this paſſage but in the height of ſummer, that is, in the months of December and January.

to feaſt their eyes with the reviving proſpect. They thus coaſted along the ſhore, contemplating the enchanting landſkip, which improved as they advanced; but the night cloſed upon them before they had diſcovered a proper bay. At four the next morning the third lieutenant was diſpatched with the cutter to diſcover the bay they ſought for, and at noon he returned with the boat laden with ſeals and graſs; for the boat's crew did not ſtay to ſearch for better vegetables, as they well knew that even graſs would prove a dainty, and indeed it was ſoon eagerly devoured. As for the ſeals, they were at this inſtant rendered leſs valuable by the people on board having taken, during the boat's abſence, a great quantity of excellent fiſh.

The cutter had diſcovered the bay where they intended to anchor, and the weather proving favourable, the next morning they endeavoured to weigh, which with great difficulty they perfor med, by obliging even the ſick, who were ſcarce able to ſtand, to lend their aſſiſtance, and at length, by making uſe of their utmoſt efforts, they got into the bay in fifty-ſix fathom water.

The Centurion had not long got her new birth when a ſail was diſcovered, which on its nearer approach, was found to be the Tryal ſloop. The commodore immediately ſent ſome of his hands on board her, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe was brought to an anchor in the bay, when Capt. Saunders, the commander, waiting on Mr. Anſon, informed him that he had buried thirty-four of his men out of his ſmall complement, and thoſe that remained were ſo afflicted with the ſcurvy, that only himſelf, his lieutenant, and three of his men were able to ſtand by the ſails, and that on the 9th of May he had fallen in with the Anna pink, with whom he had kept company four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind.

The commodore's principal attention was now employed in ſending materials on ſhore to raiſe tents for the reception of the ſick, who died faſt on board, the diſtemper being doubtleſs conſiderably augmented by the ſtench and filthineſs in which they lay, for few could be ſpared to look after them, which rendered the ſhip extremely loathſome between decks. But notwithſtanding the eager deſire of all to be on ſhore, they had not hands enough to prepare the tents before the 16th, but on that and the two following days, they were all landed amounting to 167 perſons, beſides twelve or fourteen who died in the boats, on being expoſed to the freſh air. The greateſt part of the ſick were obliged to be carried out of the ſhip in their hammocks, and afterwards to be conveyed in the ſame manner from the water ſide over a ſtony beach to ther tents. This being a work of conſiderable fatigue to the few who were healthy, the commodore had the humanity, not only to aſſiſt with his own labour, but obliged all his officers without diſtinction to give a helping hand.

It was near twenty days after their landing before the mortality was tolerably ceaſed, and for the firſt ten or twelve days they ſeldom buried leſs than ſix each day, and many who ſurvived recovered by ſlow degrees. However, thoſe who on their firſt getting aſhore were well enough to creep out of their tents and crawl about, ſoon recovered their health and ſtrength.

The iſland of Juan Fernandez,* is ſaid to have received its name from a Spaniard, who formerly procured a grant of it; but after reſiding there ſome time abandoned it. Its greateſt length is between twelve and fifteen miles, and it greateſt

* This iſland, according to Mr. Anſon's accurate obſervations, lies in 33°. 40'. ſouth latitude, and is 110 leagues diſtant from the continent of Chili.

breadth leſs than ſix. The northern part of the iſland is compoſed of high craggy rocks, many of which are inacceſſible, though they are generally covered with trees; but the ſoil is ſo looſe and ſhallow, the largeſt trees are eaſily overturned, which occaſioned the death of one of the ſailors, who being upon the hills in ſearch of goats, caught hold of a tree upon a declivity to aſſiſt him in his aſcent, but it giving way, he immediately rolled down, and though in his fall he faſtened on another tree of conſiderable ſize, yet that too unfortunately giving way, he fell among the rocks, and was daſhed to pieces.

The trees which compoſe the woods on this ſide of the iſland are moſtly aromatics of different ſorts, none of which are large enough to afford any conſiderable timber, except the myrtle, whoſe top is circular, and appears as regular and uniform as if clipped by art, and on its bark grows an excreſcence reſembling moſs, which has the taſte and ſmell of garlick, inſtead of which it was uſed by the people of the Centurion; but even this tree will not cut to a greater length than forty feet. The pimento and cabbage tree alſo grow here, but in no great plenty. There were beſides a great variety of different plants, amongſt which were almoſt all the vegetables, that are eſteemed peculiarly adapted to the cure of the ſcurvy; for they found great quantities of excellent wild ſorrel, purſlain, water creſſes, turnips, and Sicilian radiſhes. Mr. Anſon, for the better accommodation of his countrymen, who ſhould afterwards touch there, ſowed lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and ſet in the woods a great variety of plumb, apricot and peachſtones, which have ſince thriven to a remarkable degree.

It is obſervable, that the hills in ſome part of this iſland reſemble the mountains of Chili where gold is found, and in ſome places there are ſeveral

hills of a peculiar kind of red earth more beautiful than vermilion, which upon examination might perhaps prove a very uſeful and valuable commodity.

The woods which cover moſt of the ſteepeſt hills, are ſo free from buſhes and underwood, as to afford an eaſy paſſage through every part of them: and in the northern part of the iſland the irregularities of the hills and precipices traced out a variety of the moſt romantic vallies, moſt of which have a ſtream of the cleareſt water, that runs through them, after its having fallen in caſcades from rock to rock, and in ſome particular ſpots in theſe vallies the loftineſs of the overhanging rocks, the frequent falls of the neighbouring ſtreams, with the ſhade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, preſented ſcenes of the utmoſt elegance and dignity. Here the ſimple productions of unaſſiſted nature, may be ſaid to excel all the fictitious deſcriptions of the warmeſt imagination.

To conclude this deſcription of the face of this beautiful iſland, we ſhall give a view of the ſpot where the commodore pitched his tent, and reſided during his ſtay. The place he choſe was a ſmall lawn that had an eaſy aſcent, and lay at the diſtance of about half a mile from the ſea. His tent fronted a large avenue, cut through the woods, which ſloping with a gentle deſcent to the water, afforded a proſpect of the bay and the ſhips at anchor. The lawn was ſcreened behind by a wood of tall myrtles, ſweeping round it in a ſemicircular form: the ſlope on which the wood ſtood, roſe with a ſteeper aſcent than the lawn; while the hills and precipices within land towered up conſiderably above the tops of the trees, and heightened the grandeur of the view; beſides two ſtreams of cryſtal water ran on the right and left of the tent within the diſtance of 100 yards, and completed the ſymmetry of the whole, by their being

ſhaded with the trees which on either ſide ſkirted the lawn.

The prodigious number of goats former writers mention to have been found upon this iſland, have been greatly diminiſhed by the dogs ſet aſhore by the Spaniards to deprive the Buccaneers and privateers of the advantages they reaped from their numbers, which ſupplied them with plenty of proviſions; but it is remarkable, that the Centurion's men found ſeveral of theſe of a moſt venerable aſpect, which, from having their ears ſlit, the naturally ſuppoſe had belonged to Mr. Selkirk a Scotchman, who had been left upon this iſland, about thirty-two years before their arrival, and who often catching more goats than he wanted, ſometimes marked their ears and let them go. The large dogs, already mentioned, have deſtroyed all the goats in the acceſſible parts of the country, while the few that remain alive among the craggs and precipices, are divided into ſeparate herds, inhabit diſtinct faſtneſſes, and never mingle with each other. Mr. Walter and others were witneſſes of a ſingular diſpute betwixt a herd of theſe animals, and a number of dogs. They were going in a boat into the eaſtern bay, when perceiving ſome dogs running, they were willing to diſcover their game, upon which, lying upon their oars to watch them, they ſaw them take to a hill, upon the ridge of which they obſerved a herd of goats that ſeemed drawn up for their reception. The maſter of the herd had poſted himſelf fronting the enemy, in a very narrow paſs, ſkirted on each ſide with precipices, while the reſt of the goats were all behind him, where the ground was more open. As this ſpot was inacceſſible by any other paſs, the dogs ran up the hill with great alacrity; but on their coming within twenty yards of him, became ſenſible of their danger; for the ſame gentleman obſerves, that he would infallibly have

driven them down the precipices. The dogs therefore quietly laid themſelves down and gave over the chaſe. Theſe dogs are extremely numerous, and being able to catch but few of the goats, they principally live upon young ſeals.

As the ſailors were ſeldom able to kill above one goat in a day, and grew tired of fiſh, they at laſt condeſcended to eat ſeals, which by degrees, they became fond of, and gave their fleſh the name of lamb.

There is another amphibious animal to be met with in the iſland, which, as well as the ſeals, are very numerous; that is the ſea-lion, which reſembles the ſeal, though it is much larger, and was eat by the whole ſhip's company under the denomination of beef. When arrived at their full growth they are from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference, and are ſo extremely fat, that on cutting through the ſkin, which is about an inch in thickneſs at leaſt, a foot of fat is found before either the lean or the bones can be ſeen, ſo that the fat of the largeſt of them frequently yielded a butt of oil. Their ſkins are covered with ſhort hair of a light dun colour; but their tails and feet, which at ſea ſerve them for fins, are almoſt black. Their feet are divided at the end like fingers, and are joined together by a web. Theſe animals in ſome degree reſemble an over-grown ſeal; but the males have a large trunk or ſnout that hangs down five or ſix inches below the end of their upper jaw, which the females have not, and this renders them eaſily diſtinguiſhed, beſides the males are of a much larger ſize.

The largeſt ſea-lion was the maſter of the flock, and from the number of females he kept to himſelf, and his driving off the males, was ſtiled by the ſeamen the baſhaw. Theſe amphibious animals continue at ſea all the ſummer, and come on ſhore in the beginning of winter, where they re-

ſide during that whole ſeaſon, feeding on the graſs and verdure that grows near the banks of the freſh water ſtreams; and when they are not employed in feeding, ſleep in herds in the moſt miry places. In this interval they engender and bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth, of about the ſize of a full grown ſeal, which they ſuckle with their milk. As they are of a very lethargic diſpoſition, and are not eaſily awakened, it is obſerved that each herd places ſome of their males at a diſtance in the manner of centinels, who always give the alarm, whenever an attempt is made either to moleſt or approach them, by making a loud grunting noiſe like a hog, or ſnorting like a horſe in full vigour. The males had often furious battles with each other, chiefly about the females, and the baſhaw juſt mentioned, who was commonly ſurrounded by his females, to which no other male dared to approach, had acquired that diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence by many bloody conteſts, as was evident from the numerous ſcars viſible in all parts of his body. The ſailors killed many of them for food, particularly for their tongues and hearts, which were much admired, and thought preferable to thoſe of bullocks. There was no difficulty in killing them, ſince they were incapable of either reſiſting or eſcaping, their motion being more unwieldy than can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, is agitated in large waves under the ſkin; and it is remarkable that they are ſo full of blood, that on their being deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will inſtantly guſh out as many fountains of blood, ſpouting to a conſiderable diſtance. To try what quantity of blood they contained, the men ſhot one firſt, and then cutting its throat, and meaſuring the blood that came from it, found that beſides what remained in the veſſels, which was no doubt conſiderable, they got at leaſt two

hogſheads. But though theſe unwieldy creatures are ſo eaſily killed, they are capable of doing much miſchief; for a ſailor being careleſsly employed in ſkinning a young ſea-lion, the female from whom he had taken it, approached him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, ſcored his ſkull in notches with her teeth, by which he was ſo deſperately wounded, that though all poſſible care was taken to preſerve his life, he died a few days after.

The above are the principal animals that were found in this iſland. They ſaw but few birds, which were chiefly hawks, owls, humming birds, and black-birds; and but few of the other animals mentioned by former writers, and therefore ſuppoſed them deſtroyed by the dogs; however, the rats are ſtill very numerous and troubleſome.

The moſt delicious repaſts they found in this iſland were afforded by the fiſh, with which the bay was plentifully ſtored. There they found cod of a prodigious ſize, cavaliers, gropers, large breams, maids, congers of a peculiar kind; and what was moſt eſteemed, a black fiſh that in ſhape reſembled a carp, and which ſome called a chimney-ſweeper; theſe fiſh were ſo plentiful that a boat with two or three hooks and lines, ſometimes returned loaded with fiſh in two or three hours time. They, however, were frequently interrupted by great numbers of dog-fiſh and large ſharks, which attended the boats, and prevented their ſport. There were here alſo the ſea cray-fiſh, which commonly weighed eight or nine pounds; theſe were of a moſt excellent taſte, and were in prodigious numbers near the water's edge.

After their being ſome time in the iſland, and ſeeing no other ſhips appear, the commodore began to be under apprehenſions that they were loſt, and to deſpair of ever ſeeing them again; but on the 21ſt of June, ſome of the men, from an eminence on ſhore, diſcerned a ſhip to the leeward that had

no ſail abroad except her courſes and main-top-ſail; but ſoon after the weather growing thick and hazy, ſhe diſappeared for ſome days, when it was feared ſhe had loſt ſight of the iſland, and that her crew were ſo weakened by ſickneſs as to be unable to ply to windward. However, on the 26th a ſail was again ſeen, which was thought to be the ſame ſhip, and ſoon after approached ſo near that they could diſtinguiſh her to be the Glouceſter. The commodore not doubting her being in diſtreſs, ordered his boat to her aſſiſtance, laden with freſh water, fiſh, and vegetables. The commodore's apprehenſions were but too well founded; never was a crew in a more diſtreſſed ſituation; already had they thrown overboard two-thirds of their complement, and ſcarce any were left alive capable of doing duty, except the officers and their ſervants; their allowance for a conſiderable time had been only a pint of freſh water to each man for twenty-four hours, and yet they had ſo little left, that had it not been for this ſupply, they muſt ſoon have died of thirſt. Though the ſhip was within three miles of the bay, the winds and currents being contrary, ſhe found it impoſſible to reach it. She however the next day continued in the offing; but having no chance of coming to an anchor, unleſs the wind and current ſhifted, the commodore ſent the Tryal's boat with a farther ſupply of water and other refreſhments. Mr. Mitchel, the captain of the Glouceſter, was under the neceſſity of detaining both this boat and that ſent the preceding day; for he had no longer ſtrength ſufficient to navigate the ſhip without the help of their crews. In this dreadful tantalizing ſituation, the Glouceſter continued for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and ſometimes ſeeming as if ſhe would gain it. But on the 9th of July ſhe was obſerved ſtretching away at a conſiderable diſtance to

the eaſtward, which it was ſuppoſed was with a deſign to get to the ſouthward of the iſland; but as they ſoon loſt ſight of her, and ſhe did not appear for near a week, they were deeply concerned, being ſenſible that ſhe muſt be again in dreadful diſtreſs for want of water. However, after watching for her with great impatience, ſhe was again diſcovered on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eaſtern point of the iſland; but the wind ſtill blowing directly from the bay hindered her from getting nearer than within four leagues of the land, when Captain Mitchel making ſignals of diſtreſs, the long-boat was ſent to him with plenty of water and other refreſhments; and that boat being not to be ſpared, the commodore gave the cock-ſwain poſitive orders to return immediately; but the next day the weather being ſtormy, and the boat not appearing, it was apprehended that ſhe was loſt, which would have been an irretrievable misfortune to all on ſhore; but from this anxiety they were the third day after relieved by the joyful ſight of the long-boat, on which the cutter was immediately ſent to her aſſiſtance, who in a few hours towed her into the harbour. It was now found that the crew of the long-boat had taken in ſix of the Glouceſter's ſick men, to bring them on ſhore; but two of them had died in the boat. The commodore was informed that the Glouceſter had ſcarcely a man in health on board, except thoſe he had ſent her; that numbers of the ſick died daily, and that had it not been for the refreſhments he had ſent, both the healthy and diſeaſed muſt have periſhed. Theſe calamities were the more terrifying, as they ſeemed without remedy, for this diſtreſſed veſſel had already ſpent a month in endeavouring to fetch the bay, and was now no farther advanced than at the firſt moment ſhe made the iſland, and the people on board had loſt all their hopes of ever ſucceeding in it, from the many

experiments they had made of its difficulty. But, alas! the ſame day her ſituation became more deſperate than ever: for after ſhe had received the laſt ſupply of refreſhments, thoſe on ſhore once more loſt ſight of her, and all in general deſpaired of her ever coming to an anchor. Thus were the unhappy people in this veſſel bandied about within a few leagues of the deſired harbour, while the neighbourhood of the place, and the view of every thing that could put an end to the calamities they laboured under, aggravated their diſtreſs; but they were at laſt delivered from this moſt dreadful ſituation, when it was leaſt expected by thoſe on ſhore, who, after looſing ſight of her ſeveral days, were agreeably ſurpriſed on the 23d of July in the morning, to ſee her with a flowing ſail open the north-weſt point of the bay, when the commodore diſpatching all his boats to her aſſiſtance, ſhe within an hour's time after her being firſt perceived, was ſafe at anchor with the Centurion.

On their coming to an anchor, the commodore firſt ordered her to be aſſiſted in mooring, and then had her ſick ſent on ſhore. She had buried above three-fourths of her crew, and the ſick were reduced by their dying to leſs than fourſcore, the greateſt part of whom it was feared would be loſt; but whether thoſe that were far advanced were all dead, or that the greens, the freſh proviſions, and water ſent on board, had prepared thoſe that remained for a ſpeedy recovery, very few of them died on ſhore, and the ſick in general were reſtored to health in a much ſhorter time than thoſe of the Centurion had been on their firſt landing in the iſland.

We ſhall now return to the tranſactions on ſhore, during the Glouceſter's many ineffectual attempts to reach the iſland. Their firſt employment, after landing the ſick from the Centurion, and cleanſing the ſhip, was filling the water, which appeared

eſſentially neceſſary to their ſecurity, as they had reaſon to apprehend that ſuch accidents might intervene as would obliged them to leave the iſland at a very ſhort warning; for on ther firſt landing they diſcovered ſome appearances on ſhore, that gave them room to believe that ſome Spaniſh cruiſers had but juſt left the iſland at their arrival, and might probably return again, either for a recruit of water, or in ſearch of the ſquadron; for the commodore could not doubt but their ſole buſineſs at ſea was to intercept him, and knew that in their opinion this iſland was the moſt probable place to find him in. The ſailors had ſeen on ſhore ſeveral pieces of the earthen jars uſed in thoſe ſeas for water and other liquids, and theſe ſeemed freſh broken. There were many heaps of aſhes, and near them fiſh bones, and pieces of fiſh, and even whole fiſhes ſcattered about, which, as they were but juſt beginning to decay, was a proof that they had not been long out of the water, and that ſhips had been there but a ſhort time before their arrival. As the Spaniſh merchantmen are inſtructed to avoid the iſland, it was concluded that thoſe who had touched here, were ſhips of force, and being ignorant what ſtrength might have been fitted out at Callao, they could not fail of being under ſome concern for their own ſafety, while they were in ſo wretched and enfeebled a condition.

While theſe works were carrying on, the commodore ordered a large copper oven to be ſet on ſhore, near the tents of the ſick, in which bread was baked every day for the ſhip's company, it being thought that new bread, added to greens and freſh fiſh, would greatly contribute to the ſpeedy recovery of the ſick.

In the beginning of July, ſome of the men being pretty well recovered, the ſtrongeſt of them were ordered to cut down trees and ſplit them into

billets, while others, who were not ſtrong enough for this employment, undertook to carry the billets, by one at a time to the water ſide. This ſome of them performed with the help of crutches, while others ſupported themſelves with a ſingle ſtick.

The commodore then ordered the forge on ſhore, and employed the ſmiths, who were but juſt able to work, in mending the chain-plates, and all the other broken and decayed iron work. They alſo began to repair their rigging; but as they had not junk enough to make ſpun-yarn, they waited for the arrival of the Glouceſter, who had a great quantity of junk on board. But that the ſhips might be refitted as ſoon as poſſible, a large tent was erected on the beach for the ſail-makers, in which they were employed in repairing the old ſails and making new ones. Theſe, with their attendance upon the ſick, were their principal employments till the Glouceſter's arrival.

Captain Mitchel, on his landing, waited on the commodore, and told him, that in his laſt abſence he had been forced by the winds as far as Maſa Fuero, a ſmall iſland, about twenty-two leagues to the weſt of Juan Fernandez, and obſerving ſeveral ſtreams he had endeavoured to ſend his boat aſhore for water, but the wind blew ſo ſtrong on the ſhore, and occaſioned ſuch a ſurf, that it was impoſſible to land; but that his people, however, returned with a boat loaded with fiſh. Though the iſland had been repreſented by former navigators as a barren rock, Capt. Mitchel aſſured the commodore, that it was almoſt every where covered with trees and verdure; and it being near four miles in length, he thought it not improbable but it might have ſome ſmall bay, that might afford ſufficient ſhelter for any ſhip deſirous of refreſhing in that iſland.

This deſcription of Maſa Fuero gave riſe to a conjecture, that as four ſhips of the ſquadron were miſſing, ſome of them might poſſibly have fallen in with that iſland, and have miſtaken it for the true place of rendezvous; a conjecture that was the more plauſible, as they had no draught of either iſland that could be relied on; and therefore the commodore reſolved, as ſoon as the Tryal ſloop could be fitted for the ſea, to ſend her thither, in order to examine all the bays and creeks, to be ſatisfied whether any of the ſhips that were miſſing were there or not, and accordingly on the fifth of Auguſt ſhe was ſent on that expedition.

About the middle of Auguſt, the Centurion's men being pretty well recovered, were allowed to leave their ſick tents, and to erect ſeperate huts for themſelves, which, it was thought, would render them much cleanlier, and conſequently contribute to the recovery of their ſtrength; but particular orders were at the ſame time given, that on the ſhip's firing a gun they ſhould immediately repair to the water ſide. They were now employed on ſhore in cutting wood, procuring refreſhments, and making oil from the blubber of the ſea-lions, which was uſed for burning in lamps, or when mixed with pitch, to pay the ſhip's ſides: it was alſo worked up with wood-aſhes, to ſupply the uſe of tallow; and there being two Newfoundland fiſhermen in the Centurion, the commodore ordered them to lay in a large quantity of ſalted cod for ſea ſtore.

It has been already mentioned, that a copper oven was ſet up, to bake bread for the ſick; but the greateſt part of the flour was on board the victualler, the Anna Pink, and as that veſſel had fallen in with the Tryal ſloop on the 9th of May, her arrival at the iſland was daily expected; but hearing no news of her, ſhe was given over for loſt, and the commodore ordered all the ſhips to

a ſhort allowance of bread; but on the 16th of Auguſt a ſail was obſerved to the north, upon which the Centurion immediately fired a gun to call off the people from ſhore, who readily obeyed the ſummons, by repairing to the beach. Being now prepared for the reception of this ſhip whether friend or enemy, they had ſeveral opinions about her, ſome imagining her to be the Tryal ſloop on her return from her cruize; but it was ſoon obſerved that ſhe had three maſts, when ſome conjectured her to be the Severn, others the Pearl, and ſeveral thought ſhe did not belong to the ſquadron; but in the afternoon ſhe was diſcovered to be the victualler, the Anna Pink, and had the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay at five in the afternoon. Her arrival filled the people with extraordinary joy, and each ſhip's company was immediately reſtored to their full allowance of bread.

Every perſon on ſhore was ſurprized at ſeeing that the crew of the Anna Pink worked that veſſel with little appearance of debility or diſtreſs; but on her coming to anchor, they were informed that ſhe had been in harbour ſince the middle of May, which was near a month before the Centurion arrived at Juan Fernandez; ſo that the ſufferings of her men fell greatly ſhort of thoſe endured by the reſt of the ſquadron. This veſſel, on the 16th of May, fell in with the land in 45°. 15'. ſouth latitude, at the diſtance of four leagues. On the firſt ſight of which, the capt. ſtood to the ſouthward, but the fore-top-ſail ſplitting, and the wind driving the veſſel towards the ſhore, the captain was at laſt either unable to clear the land, or, as others ſaid, reſolved to keep the ſea no longer, and therefore ſteered for the coaſt, in order to diſcover ſome ſhelter among the many iſlands then in ſight; and about four hours after dropped anchor off the

iſland of Inchin, but neither being near enough to the ſhore, nor having a ſufficient number of hands to veer away the cable briſkly, they ſtill continued driving for two days, till they came within a mile of the land, and expected every moment to be forced on ſhore, at a place where the coaſt was ſo very high and ſteep, that they had not the leaſt proſpect of ſaving either the ſhip or cargo, and as their boats were leaky, and there was no appearance of a landing place, the whole crew, which conſiſted of ſixteen men and boys, gave themſelves over for loſt, imagining, that if by any extraordinary accident any of them ſhould get on ſhore, they would probably be maſſacred by the ſavages. Under theſe terrifying apprehenſions they drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the ſhore; but when the crew expected every moment the Pink would ſtrike, they obſerved a ſmall opening in the land, and inſtantly cutting away their two anchors, ſteered for it, and found it to be a ſmall channel betwixt an iſland and the continent, that led them into a moſt excellent harbour, which ſecured them againſt all weathers. The horrors of ſhipwreck, and immediate death, inſtantly vaniſhed, and gave place to the joyous ideas of ſecurity, repoſe, and refreſhment.

In this harbour thus providentially diſcovered, the Pink came to an anchor in 25 fathom water, with only a hawſe and a ſmall anchor of about 300 weight. Here her people, many of whom were ill of the ſcurvy, were happily ſoon reſtored to perfect health, by the freſh proviſions and excellent water, with which the adjacent ſhore abounded. The principal refreſhments they met with were greens, as nettle-tops and cellery, which they devoured with greedineſs; great plenty of geeſe, ſhags, and penguins, with cockles and muſcles of an extraordinary ſize, and very delicious flavour,

Though it was the depth of winter, the climate was not remarkably rigorous, nor were the trees or the face of the country deſtitute of verdure. Notwithſtanding the tales of the Spaniſh hiſtorians, in relation to the barbarity of the inhabitants on that coaſt, their numbers were not ſufficient to give the leaſt jealouſy to a ſhip of ordinary force, and they appeared to be neither of a miſchievous nor mercileſs diſpoſition. The excurſions of the crew were, however, generally confined to a tract of land that ſurrounded the port, where they were never out of view of the ſhip; indeed the country in the neighbourhood was ſo covered with wood, and traverſed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate it.

All the time they continued there, they ſaw but one Indian family, which entered the harbour in a periagua, about a month after their arrival. This family conſiſted of an Indian of near forty years of age, his wife, and two children, one three years old, and the other ſtill at the breaſt. They ſeemed to have all their property with them, which was a dog and cat, a cradle, a fiſhing-net, a hatchet, a knife, ſome bark of trees intended for the covering a hut, a reel and ſome worſted, a flint and ſteel, and a few roots of a yellow colour, and very diſagreeable taſte, which ſerved them for bread. As ſoon as the maſter of the Pink perceived them, he ſent his yawl, who brought them on board, and being apprehenſive of diſcovering him, if they were ſuffered to go away, he took as he imagined, proper precautions for ſecuring them, but without any mixture of violence or ill uſage, for in the day-time they were allowed to go where they pleaſed about the ſhip, though at night they were locked up in the fore-caſtle. As they had the ſame proviſions as the reſt of the crew, and were ſometimes indulged with brandy, of which they ſeemed extremely fond, they did not at firſt

ſeem diſſatisfied with their ſituation; for the maſter, when he went a ſhooting, took the Indian on ſhore, who always ſeemed greatly delighted when the maſter killed the game, and indeed all the crew treated them with great humanity. It was, however, ſoon perceived, that though the woman continued cheerful and eaſy, the man grew penſive and reſtleſs at his confinement. He appeared to be a perſon of good natural parts, and though unable to converſe with the people of the Pink, otherwiſe than by ſigns, he ſhewed great dexterity in making himſelf underſtood. But the moſt remarkable proof of his ſagacity was the manner of his eſcape; for after being eight days on board the Pink, the ſcuttle of the fore-caſtle, where he and his family were every night locked up, happened to be unnailed; and the following night being very dark and ſtormy, he conveyed his wife and children through the unnailed ſcuttle, and then over the ſhip's ſide into the yawl, and, to prevent being purſued, cut away the long-boat, and his own periagua, which were towing a-ſtern, and immediately rowed aſhore. All this he conducted with ſuch ſecrecy and diligence, that though there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded arms, he was not diſcovered until the noiſe of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ſhip, gave notice of his eſcape, and then it was too late either to prevent or to purſue him. The Indian, beſides the recovery of his liberty, was in ſome degree revenged on thoſe who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in about getting their boats, which were all adrift, and by the terror into which he threw them at his departure; for on the firſt alarm of the watch, who cried, "The Indians," the whole ſhip's crew were in the utmoſt confuſion, and imagined that they were boarded by a fleet of armed periaguas. The ſagacity and reſolution ſhewn by

the Indian upon this occaſion were much admired by his late maſters, who did ſo much juſtice to his merit, as to own it was a moſt gallant enterprize; and as it was ſuppoſed by ſome that he was concealed in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared that he might ſuffer for want of proviſions, they eaſily prevailed upon the maſter to leave a quantity of ſuch food as they thought he moſt liked, in a particular place, where they imagined he would moſt probably find it. A piece of humanity which ſeemed to have anſwered the purpoſe; for on going to the place ſome time after, they found their proviſions gone, and in a manner that made them conclude that he had taken it.

The crew of the Pink being now refreſhed, and recovered of the ſcurvy, after having taken in a ſufficient quantity of wood and water, put to ſea a few days after the Indian's eſcape, and had an agreeable paſſage to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandez.

As the Anna Pink had joined the Commodore at Juan Fernandez, there were now only three ſhips miſſing, the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager ſtore ſhip. The two firſt of which parted company off Cape Noir, and put back to the Braſils; therefore the only ſhip miſſing that went into the South Seas was the Wager. This ſtore ſhip had on board ſome cohorn-mortars, ſome field-pieces mounted for land ſervice, with ſeveral kinds of artillery ſtores; and as the enterprize againſt Baldivia had been reſolved on for the firſt undertaking of the ſquadron, Captain Cheap, the Commander of the Wager, was very deſirous that theſe materials might be ready before Baldivia, that if the ſquadron ſhould rendezvous there, he might not be charged with any delay or diſappointment. This was his determined reſolution when he made land on the 14th of May, in about fourty-ſeven degrees

of ſouth latitude, when exerting himſelf to get clear, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and diſlocated his ſhoulder. This unhappy accident rendered him incapable of acting, when the crew not taking proper care the Wager ſtruck on a ſunken rock, and having ſoon after bilged, grounded between two ſmall iſlands. The confuſion produced by this accident was inconceivably heightened by the rebellious diſpoſition of the crew, who imagining that the loſs of the ſhip deſtroyed the captain's ſuperiority, and put them all on an equal footing, fell to pillaging the ſhip, arming themſelves with the firſt weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who ſhould oppoſe them. This frenzy was heightened by the liquors they had found on board, with which ſome of them got ſo extremely drunk, that falling down between decks, they were drowned in the water which flowed into the wreck. The captain, after having uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get the whole crew on ſhore, was, at laſt, obliged to leave the mutineers, and to follow his officers, with ſuch as ſubmitted to his authority; after which he ſent back the boats to perſuade thoſe who had ſtaid behind, to have ſome regard to their own preſervation; but this was without ſucceſs. However, the next day proving very ſtormy, and the ſhip being in danger of parting, they were ſeized with the fear of periſhing, and wanted to get on land; but the boats not appearing to fetch them off ſo ſoon as they expected, they were filled with ſo unaccountable a frenzy as to point a four pounder againſt the hut where they knew the captain dwelt, and fired two ſhot which did but juſt paſs over it, and ſo mutinous was their diſpoſition when they landed, that notwithſtanding their being on a deſolate coaſt, where ſcarcely any other proviſions could be obtained, there was no poſſibility of making them huſband ſuch as were ſaved out of the wreck;

for there was nothing but frauds, concealments, and thefts, which animated each man againſt his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and conteſts.

The captain differing in opinion from almoſt all his people in the meaſures to be purſued in the preſent exigency, was another ſource of hart-burnings and diſputes: for Mr. Cheap was reſolved, if poſſible, to fit up the boats in the beſt manner he could, and proceed with them to the northward, ſince having above one hundred men in health, and ſome fire arms and ammunition, which had been taken from the wreck, he did not doubt his being able to maſter any Spaniſh veſſel he ſhould find in thoſe ſeas, and hoped to meet with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, he reſolved when he had taken her, to proceed to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandez; and he further inſiſted, that ſhould they even light on no prize, yet their boats alone would very eaſily carry them thither. But this ſcheme was not at all reliſhed by the generality of his people, who could not think of proſecuting an enterprize that had been ſo diſaſtrous. It was therefore the common reſolution to lengthen the long boat, and with that and the other boats, to ſteer to the ſouthward, and paſſing the Streights of Magellan, to endeavour to gain the coaſt of Braſil, where they did not doubt their being well received, and procuring a paſſage to Great Britain. Though this project muſt at firſt ſight appear infinitely more hazardous and tedious than that propoſed by the captain, yet as it had the air of returning home, that circumſtance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniences, and made them adhere to it with unconquerable obſtinacy; ſo that the captain himſelf, notwithſtanding he could never change his opinion, was obliged to give way to the torrent, and to ſeem to acquieſce in this reſolution, while he ſecretly endeavoured to oppoſe it; and

in particular, he contrived that the long-boat ſhould be lengthened to ſuch a ſize as might ſerve to carry them to Juan Fernandez, and yet appear incapable of ſo long a voyage as that to the coaſt of Braſil. The captain had at firſt much embittered the people againſt him, by a ſteady oppoſition to this favourite ſcheme, and greatly increaſed their reſentment againſt him, by the following unhappy accident. One Couſins, a midſhipman, who had appeared foremoſt in all the refractory proceedings of the crew, had quarrelled with moſt of the officers who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had treated the captain himſelf with abuſe and inſolence, and at length his turbulence and brutality growing daily more intolerable, it was not doubted, that ſome violent meaſures were in agitation, in which he was to be ringleader, and therefore the captain and thoſe about him conſtantly kept on their guard. One day the purſer, by the captain's order, ſtopping the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Couſins meddled in the affair, and groſsly inſulted the purſer, who was delivering out the proviſions juſt by the captain's tent, and was himſelf ſufficiently violent. The purſer being enraged at his ſcurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out, "A mutiny," adding, "the raſcal has piſtols," and then raſhly fired a piſtol at Couſins. The captain, upon this outcry, and the report of the piſtol, inſtantly ruſhed out of his tent, and having no doubt but that it was fired by Couſins, immediately ſhot him in the head, and though he did not kill him on the ſpot, the wound proving mortal, he died about fourteen days after.

Though this accident exaſperated the people, yet it ſtruck them with awe, and rendered them more ſubmiſſive to the captain's authority; but when they had nearly completed the long-boat, and were preparing to put to ſea, his privately tra-

verſing their project of proceeding through the ſtreights of Magellan, and the fear of his at length engaging a party ſufficient to ruin their favourite ſcheme, made them reſolve to make uſe of the death of Couſins as a reaſon of depriving him of his command, under the pretence of carrying him to England to be tried for murder. They accordingly confined him under a guard, but when they were juſt ready to put to ſea, they left him, and the few who choſe to follow his fortune, with no other veſſel but the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the Wager was wrecked, there were near 130 perſons on board, about thirty of whom died during their ſtay, and eighty went off in the long-boat and cutter to the ſouthward, ſo that after their departure, there remained with the Captain only nineteen perſons; which were however as many as the barge and yawl could well carry.

It was five months after this ſhipwreck that the long-boat weighed and ſtood to the ſouthward, giving the captain, who with lieutenant Hamilton of the land-forces, and the ſurgeon, were then on the beach, three chears at their departure. They had ſoon reaſon to repent their having engaged in this raſh and deſperate enterpriſe; for the veſſel was ſcarcely able to contain the number that firſt put to ſea, and their ſtock of proviſions being only what they had ſaved out of the ſhip, was extremely ſlender, the cutter, the only boat they had with them, ſoon broke away from the ſtern, and was ſtaved to pieces, ſo that when their proviſions and water failed, they had frequently no means of reaching the ſhore to obtain a freſh ſupply. The miſeries they endured were as great as can be imagined, they left about twenty of their people on ſhore at different places they touched at; but a greater number periſhed by hunger during the

courſe of this tedious voyage, ſo that only thirty out of the eighty who engaged in the enterprize, were ſo happy as to accompliſh it, and theſe arrived at Rio Grande, on the coaſt of Brazil, on the 29th of January following.

The captain, and thoſe who were left with him, on their being thus abandoned, propoſed to paſs in the barge and yawl to the northward, but unhappily the weather was ſo bad, that it was two months after the departure of the longboat before he was able to put to ſea. The place where the Wager was caſt away was not, as it was at firſt imagined, a part of the continent, but an iſland at ſome diſtance from the main, which afforded no other kind of proviſions but ſhell-fiſh, and a few herbs, and as the largeſt part of what they had taken from the ſhip was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were frequently in want of food, from their reſolving to preſerve what little ſea proviſions remained for their voyage.

It is to be lamented, that the Wager's people had no idea that the Anna Pink, was for a conſiderable time, while they were on ſhore, ſo near them, for ſhe was at moſt not above thirty leagues diſtant, and came into their neighbourhood about the very time in which the Wager was loſt; and being a fine roomy ſhip, might eaſily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to Juan Fernandez. Indeed Mr. Walter ſuſpects that ſhe was much nearer than what is here eſtimated; for ſeveral perſons belonging to the Wager, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which he imagines could be no other than the evening gun fired by the Anna Pink, eſpecially as that heard at Wager's iſland was about the ſame time of the day.

The captain and his people embarked on board the barge and yawl, in order to proceed to the

northward ; but they had ſcarcely been an hour at ſea, when the winds began to blow ſo hard, and the ſea ran ſo high, that they were obliged to throw overboard moſt of the proviſions they had ſaved from the wreck, to avoid immediate deſtruction. However, they perſiſted in their deſign, and put on ſhore as often as they could in ſearch of ſubſiſtence. But unhappily, about a fortnight after, the yawl ſunk as ſhe lay at anchor, with one of the men on board, who was drowned, when the barge not having room ſufficient for the whole company, they were obliged to leave four mariners behind them on a deſolate ſhore. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters, they ſtill continued to puſh to the northward, though delayed by the winds and their ſearch after proviſions, till having made three unſucceſsful attempts to double a head-land which they ſuppoſed to be Cape Tres Montes ; they thought the difficulties of the paſſage inſurmountable, and unanimouſly reſolved to return to Wager's iſland, where they arrived about the middle of February almoſt periſhed with fatigue and hunger. However, on their return to the iſland, they unexpectedly met with a ſeaſonable ſupply of beef, which had been waſhed out of the wreck, and ſtill ſwam upon the water ; and ſoon after two canoes of Indians landed ; on board one of them was a native of Chiloe, who ſpoke a little Spaniſh, and was induced by Mr. Elliot, the ſurgeon, who underſtood that language, to carry Capt. Cheap, and his people to Chiloe, in conſideration of which he was to have the barge, and all that belonged to her.

Accordingly on the 6th of March, eleven perſons, to which the company were now reduced, embarked on board the barge, but after a few days voyage, ſix of them, together with an Indian, went off in this little veſſel, while the captain was on ſhore with Mr. Hamilton, lieutenant of the

marines, Mr. Elliot, the ſurgeon, and the Hon. Mr. Bryon, and Mr. Campbell, midſhipmen. Theſe were thus left on a deſolate coaſt, without proviſions or the means of procuring any, for their arms, ammunition, and every little convenience of which they were maſters, were now carried off in the barge.

They were now in dreadful diſtreſs, and in their own opinion, in a more miſerable ſituation, than any they had yet known; but when they had revolved in their minds the various circumſtances of this unexpected calamity, and were perſuaded that they had not the leaſt proſpect of relief, they perceived a canoe at a diſtance, which proved to be that of the Indian, who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, he and his family being on board. This honeſt Indian had a little before left Captain Cheap and his people to go a fiſhing, and had committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the ſailors had carried to ſea in the barge. When he firſt miſſed the barge and his companion, he was with difficulty perſuaded that the other Indian was not murdered, but being at laſt ſatisfied with the account that was given him, he undertook to carry them to the Spaniſh ſettlements, and to ſupply them with proviſions all the way, for which purpoſe he got together many of his neighbours in other canoes, with whom the Capt. embarked with his four companions, in the middle of March, and at laſt arrived in the beginning of June at the iſland of Chiloe; but Mr. Elliot died in the paſſage, and the reſt were in ſuch an ill ſtate of health from their diſtreſſes and fatigues, that they were with difficulty recovered by the Spaniards, who treated them with great humanity. After ſome ſtay at Chiloe, they were ſent to Valparaiſo, and thence to St. Jago, where they continued above a year. Captain Cheap, lieutenant Hamilton and Mr. Byron, were upon the news of

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a cartel being ſettled with Spain, permitted to return to Europe on board a French ſhip; but Mr. Campbell, who had changed his religion while at St. Jago, choſe to go to Buenos-Ayres with Pizarro, and his officers with whom he afterwards went to Spain, and from thence returned to England.

To return from this digreſſion. The Tryal ſloop that had been ſent to the iſland of Maſa Fuero, retured to Juan Fernandez, about a week after the arrival of the Anna Pink, having ſailed round the iſland without ſeeing any of the ſhips that were miſſing. This iſland which the Spaniards ſtile the leſſer Juan Fernandez, is a much larger and better ſpot than has been generally repreſented, former writers have deſcribed it as a ſmall barren rock deſtitute of wood and water, and entirely inacceſſible; but it was found covered with trees, and with ſeveral fine falls of water pouring down its ſides into the ſea. It had alſo on the north ſide a place where a ſhip might come to anchor, but it would have been expoſed to all the winds except the ſouth. It abounds with ſea-lions and ſeals, and particularly with goats, which not being uſed to be diſturbed, were unapprehenſive of danger, till they had been frequently fired at; and as the Spaniards have not thought the iſland conſiderable enough to be frequented by their enemies, they have not deſtroyed the proviſions upon it by ſetting dogs on the ſhore.

Upon unloading the Anna Pink, which took up the latter part of the month of Auguſt, the commodore had the mortification to find that great part of the proviſions were ſpoiled by the ſea water, and that veſſel being ſurveyed by the carpenters, was judged unfit for ſervice; therefore, upon a petition from Mr. Gerard her maſter, to Mr. Anſon, in behalf of her owners, he purchaſed her with all her furniture for 300l. and her crew;

together with the maſter, were ſent on board the Glouceſter. When all the remaining crews, now to be diſtributed among the three ſhips, amounted to no more than 335 men and boys, which was far from being ſufficient for manning the Centurion alone.

As the ſeaſon for navigating theſe ſeas drew near, they exerted themſelves in getting the ſhips ready. On the 8th of September about eleven in the morning, they diſcovered a ſail, which approached towards the iſland, and gave the commodore hopes that ſhe was one of his ſquadron; but upon her ſteering afterwards to the eaſtward, it was concluded that ſhe muſt be a Spaniard, when the Centurion being in the greateſt forwardneſs, made after her as faſt as poſſible; but the night coming on, they loſt ſight of her, and the next morning, though it was extremely clear, had the mortification to find that ſhe could not be diſcovered from the maſt head. However, they reſolved not to give over the ſearch, but having continued cruizing all that day and the next, they reſolved to return to Juan Fernandez. But on the 12th, about three in the morning, a briſk gale ſpringing up at ſouth-weſt, obliged them to lie upon a north-weſt tack, which brought them at break of day within ſight of a ſail, at about five leagues diſtance, but not the ſame they had ſeen before. The crew of the Centurion immediately crouded all their ſails. She at firſt bore down upon them, ſhewing Spaniſh colours, and made a ſignal as to her conſort, but obſerving that her ſignal was not anſwered, inſtantly ſtood to the ſouthward. As ſhe appeared to be a large ſhip, that had miſtaken the Centurion for her conſort, ſhe was ſuppoſed to be a man of war of Pizarro's ſquadron, which induced the commodore to order all the officers cabins to be knocked down and thrown overboard, with ſeveral caſks of water, and proviſions that ſtood between

the guns, but upon a nearer approach ſhe appeared to be a merchant-man without a ſingle tier of guns, and ſurrendered at the fire of only four ſhot. Mr. Saumerez the commodore's firſt lieutenant, was ordered to take poſſeſſion of the prize, and to ſend the officers and paſſengers, and afterwards all the other priſoners on board the Centurion. This ſhip was called Nueſtra Senora del Monte Carmelo, and her cargo conſiſted chiefly of ſugar, great quantities of cloth, ſome cotton and tobacco; but what was more valuable than all the reſt, was ſome trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three ſerons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200 pounds avoirdupois; ſhe was 450 tons burden, and was bound to the port of Valparaiſo, in the kingdom of Chili.

From the information of the priſoners on board, and the letters and papers which fell into the commodore's hands, on the taking of this ſhip, they learned with certainty the force and deſtination of Admiral Pizarro's ſquadron, which cruized off the Madeiras at their arrival there, and afterwards chaſed the Pearl in her paſſage to St. Julian, with the fate of that ſquadron, the particulars of which were very remarkable, and are as follow:

The ſquadron under the command of Don Joſeph Pizarro, was compoſed of the Aſia of 66 guns and 700 men, which was the admiral's ſhip, the Guipuſcoa of 74 guns and 700 men, the Hermione of 54 guns and 500 men, the Eſperanza of 50 guns and 350 men, the St. Eſtevan of 40 guns and 350 men, and the Petache of 20 guns. Beſides their full complement of ſailors and marines, they had on board an old Spaniſh regiment of foot to reinforce the garriſons in the South Seas. This fleet, which ſailed from Spain with only four months proviſions on board, having cruized for ſome days to the leeward of the Madeiras, ſteered for the river of Plate, where they arrived in January, and caſt

anchor in the bay of Maldonado, at the mouth of that river. Pizarro immediately ſent to Buenos-Ayres for a ſupply of proviſions; but receiving intelligence from the Portugueſe governor of St. Catherine's of Mr. Anſon's arrival at that iſland on the 21ſt of December preceding, and of his preparing to put to ſea again, Pizarro reſolved to get round Cape Horn; he weighed anchor with the whole fleet except the Patache, and got under ſail without ſtaying for his proviſions, which however arrived at Maldonado a day or two after his departure. To encourage the men, many advantages were offered them to enable them to ſupport the difficulties and fatigues of that hazardous undertaking. But notwithſtanding this precipitate departure, the Engliſh fleet put to ſea four days before him, and in this run the Pearl being ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with Pizarro's fleet, and narrowly eſcaped being taken.

At the latter end of February, Pizarro with his ſquadron had run the length of Cape Horn, and ſtood to the weſtward, in order to double it; but in the night of the laſt day of that month, old ſtile, the Guipuſcoa, the Hermione, and the Eſperanza, were ſeparated from the admiral; ſix days after the Guipuſcoa was ſeparated from the other two, and on the 7th a furious ſtorm drove the whole ſquadron to the eaſtward.

The calamities they now ſuffered are almoſt incredible, for beſides their fatigues, and the diſtreſſes owing to the leakineſs of their ſhips, the famine was ſo great, that a ſingle rat on board the Aſia ſold for four dollars, and a ſailor who died on board, had his death concealed for ſome days by his brother who lay in the ſame hammock with the corpſe, only to receive the dead man's allowance of proviſions: while a conſpiracy was ſet on foot by the marines, to murder all the officers, and the whole crew, from no other motive than

that of relieving their hunger, by appropriating the ſhip's proviſions to themſelves: but happily this bloody deſign was prevented when juſt upon the point of execution, by means of their confeſſors, and three of the ring-leaders were put to death. But though the conſpiracy was ſuppreſſed their calamities grew more and more deſtructive, ſo that by fatigue, ſickneſs, and hunger, the Aſia arrived at Monte Vedis in the river Plate, with only half her crew. The St. Eſtevan had alſo loſt half her hands when ſhe anchored in the bay of Barragon, and the Eſperanza, a 50 gun ſhip, who brought 450 hands from Spain, had only fifty-eight alive, and the whole regiment of foot periſhed except ſixty men. In ſhort, the Hermione was ſuppoſed to founder at ſea, for ſhe was never heard of more; and the Guipuſcoa was run aſhore and ſunk on the coaſt of Braſil. This laſt ſhip had on the 4th of April loſt 250 men by hunger and fatigue, and though the veſſel was extremely ſhattered, and let in great quantities of water, thoſe who were capable of working at the pumps, at which every officer without exception took his turn, were allowed an ounce and an half of biſcuit a day, and thoſe who were too ſick to perform this neceſſary labour had no more than an ounce of wheat, ſo that the men frequently fell down dead at the pumps. The ſhip having loſt her maſts, the but end of her planks being ſtarted, her bolts drawn, her ſeams all open, and only kept together by ſix turns of cable rope, was drove like a wreck till the 24th of April, when they made the coaſt of Braſil, and caſt anchor ten leagues to the ſouthward of the iſland of St. Catherine's; the captain being deſirous of proceeding to that iſland in order to ſave the hull of the ſhip with the ſtores on board. But the crew being enraged at the hardſhips they had ſuffered, and the numbers they had loſt, there being at that time no leſs than thirty

dead bodies lying on the deck, they all unanimouſly cried, on ſhore, on ſhore, and obliged the captain to run the ſhip in directly for the land, where, the fifth day after ſhe ſunk, with all her ſtores on board, but the remainder of the crew to the number of 400, who had ſurvived their hunger and fatigue, got ſafe on ſhore.

Pizarro being in great want of all kinds of naval ſtores to fit up the three diſabled ſhips, the poor remains of his ſquadron, and not being able to procure a ſupply from any of the neighbouring ſettlements, diſpatched an advice boat, with a letter of credit to purchaſe what was wanting from the Portugueſe at Rio Janeiro, and ſent an expreſs acroſs the continent to St. Jago in Chili, to be thence forwarded to the Viceroy of Peru, informing him of the diſaſters his ſquadron had ſuffered, and deſiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars from the royal cheſt at Lima, to put him in a condition to attempt the paſſage of the South Sea a ſecond time, and it is very remarkable that the Indian who undertook to carry this expreſs in the depth of winter, when the Cordelleras are eſteemed impaſſable, was only thirteen days on his journey from Buenos-Ayres to St. Jago in Chili, though theſe places are 300 Spaniſh leagues diſtant, near forty of which are among the precipices and ſnows of the Cordelleras. The viceroy however would only remit him 100,000, and the advice-boat, ſent to Rio Janeiro, though it brought back pitch, tar, and cordage, could procure him neither maſts nor yards. To add to Pizarro's misfortune, a carpenter, whom he had entruſted with a large ſum of money, and ſent to cut maſts in the north part of Paraguay, married in the country and refuſed to return.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, Pizarro found means to refit the Aſia, and the St. Eſtevan, and with theſe two ſhips was preparing to put to

ſea the October following, in order to attempt the paſſage round Cape Horn a ſecond time. But the St. Eſtevan in ſailing down the river Plate ran on a ſhoal, beat off her rudder, and received ſuch damage, that ſhe was condemned and broke up, and the admiral, who had a few months before ſo fine a ſquadron, proceeded to ſea in the Aſia alone. But when he was off Cape Horn, he had again the mortification of being obliged to return by his ſhip's looſing her maſts.

As the Aſia had greatly ſuffered by this ſecond expedition, the Eſperanza was ordered to be refitted, and the command of that ſhip was given to Mindinuetta, who had been captain of the Guipuſcoa at the time of her being loſt. In November 1742, he ſailed from the river Plate, and arrived ſafe on the coaſt of Chili, where he was met by Pizarro, who paſſed over land from Buenos-Ayres, but on his arrival there, Mindinuetta, refuſed to deliver the ſhip up to him, inſiſting that as he entered the South Seas alone, and under no ſuperior, it was not in Pizarro's power to reſume the authority he had once reſigned, but the preſident of Chili, declaring for Pizarro, Mindinuetta, after an obſtinate ſtruggle, was obliged to ſubmit.

It muſt here be obſerved, that Pizarro in the expreſs he diſpatched to the viceroy of Peru to obtain the 200,000 dollars, had intimated it was poſſible, that at leaſt a part of the Engliſh ſquadron might get into the South Sea, but that as he was certain, from his own experience, that it muſt be in a very weak and defenceleſs condition, he adviſed his excellency to ſend what ſhips of war he could get together to the ſouthward, where they would probably intercept the Engliſh ſhips ſingly, before they could reach any port to obtain refreſhment, in which caſe, he did not doubt, but his ſhips of war would obtain an eaſy conqueſt. This advice was readily approved by the viceroy

of Peru, who having already fitted out four ſhips of force from Callao, one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-four guns, which were intended to join Pizarro at his arrival on the coaſt of Chili, now ſtationed three off the port of Conception, and one of them at the iſland of Juan Fernandez, where they continued cruiſing for Mr. Anſon's ſquadron, till the 6th of June, when not ſeeing any thing of them, and thinking it impoſſible for them to keep the ſea ſo long, they quitted their cruize, and returned to Callao; a very remarkable circumſtance, whence it appears that what the commodore and whole crew of the Centurion conſidered as the moſt dreadful misfortune, and which actually coſt the lives of a great number of men, was the means of their preſervation; for had the Engliſh made the iſland when Mr. Anſon was perſuaded that he ſaw it on the 28th of May, and when they were in reality very near it, they would doubtleſs have fallen into the hands of the enemy, for in the diſtreſſed condition they were then in, it would have been impoſſible for them to have made any conſiderable effort in their own defence; and both the Tryal, the Glouceſter, and Anna Pink, who ſeparately reached the iſland, might have ſhared the ſame fate, and the commodore with all the ſurviving men, have been carried priſoners to Callao. At this intelligence the people on board the Centurion were no longer at a loſs, as to the broken jars, aſhes, and fiſh-bones, which they had obſerved at their firſt landing at Juan Fernandez, ſince theſe were doubtleſs left by the cruiſer ſtationed off that port.

But to return to Pizarro, who had not yet completed the ſeries of his misfortunes. In 1745*, he

* The relation of the inſurrection of Orellana and his followers was taken from the mouth of an Engliſh gentleman then on board Pizarro, who often converſed with Orellana, and its principal circumſtances were confirmed by others who were in the ſhip

and Mindinuetta returned back by land from Chili to Buenos-Ayres, when they found the Aſia at Monte Vedis, which they had left there near three years before, and reſolved, if poſſible, to return with her to Europe. They refitted her in the beſt manner they were able, and all their remaining ſailors to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos-Ayres, not amounting to 100 men, they ſupplied the defect, by preſſing many of the inhabitants of that city, putting on board all the Engliſh priſoners then in their cuſtody, together with a number of Portugueſe ſmugglers, which had been taken at different times, and ſome Indians of the country, among whom was Orellana an Indian chief, who belonging to a very powerful tribe which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos-Ayres, and ten of his followers. With this motley crew, all whom, except the European Spaniards, were extremely averſe to the voyage, Pizarro ſet ſail about the beginning of November, 1745, and the native Spaniards being ſenſible of the diſſatisfaction of the men they had forced on board, treated both thoſe, the Engliſh priſoners, and the Indians with great inſolence and barbarity; but more particularly the Indians, for the meaneſt officers in the ſhip frequently beat them moſt cruelly on the ſlighteſt pretences, and for no other reaſon than to ſhow their ſuperiority, while Orellana, though to appearance patient under his ſufferings, together with his people, meditated a ſevere revenge upon his oppreſſors. He ſtrove to cultivate an intimacy with ſuch of the Engliſh as ſpoke Spaniſh, a language in which he was well verſed, and as he knew that they were as much enemies to the Spaniards as himſelf, he doubtleſs intended to draw them

at the ſame time, ſo that the truth of this extraordinary fact cannot be doubted.

into his ſcheme of revenge, to procure their liberty, but founding them at a diſtance, and finding them not ſo ready and vindictive as he expected, he reſolved to truſt alone to the reſolution of his ten faithful followers, and having agreed with them on the meaſures to be taken, they furniſhed themſelves with Dutch knives, ſharp at the point, which being thoſe commonly uſed in the ſhip, they procured without the leaſt difficulty. Beſides at their leiſure hours, they ſecretly cut out thongs from raw hides, many of which were on board, and alſo employed themſelves in fixing to each of theſe thongs the double headed ſhot of the ſmall quarter-deck guns. This when ſwung round their heads, according to the practice of the country, was a moſt miſchievous weapon, in the uſe of which the Indians about Buenos-Ayres are very expert, as they are trained up to this way of fighting from their infancy. While theſe works were carrying on, the execution of their revenge was doubtleſs precipitated by a cruel outrage committed on Orellana himſelf; for a very brutal fellow, who was one of the officers, ordering Orellana a loft, which was what he was incapable of performing, the officer, under the pretence of diſobedience, beat him ſo violently that he left him bleeding on the deck, where he lay for ſome time, ſtunned with his wounds and bruiſes. This doubtleſs made him eager and impatient till the means of executing his revenge were in his power, and a day or two after, he and his followers attempted to put their ſcheme in execution.

Many of the principal officers were on the quarter-deck, at about nine in the evening, enjoying the freſhneſs of the night air. The waſte of the ſhip was filled with live cattle, and the forecaſtle was manned with its uſual watch, when Orellana, and his companions having prepared this weapon, and thrown off the more cumbrous

part of their dreſs, came all together towards the door of the great cabbin: Upon this they were reprimanded by the boatſwain, who ordered them to be gone. Orellana then ſpoke to his followers in their native language, when four of them drew off, two to each gang-way, and Orellana and the ſix remaining Indians ſeemed to be ſlowly quitting the quarter-deck, inſtead of which Orellana no ſooner ſaw the gang-ways poſſeſſed by his detached parties, than he ſet up the war cry, a ſound perhaps the moſt terrifying that ever was heard. Upon which they all drew their knives and brandiſhed their double-headed ſhot ſo ſucceſsfully, that they laid near forty of the Spaniards at their feet, above twenty of whom were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt diſabled. The confuſion which this unexpected attack ſpread amongſt the ſhip's crew is not to be deſcribed, many of the officers in the beginning of the tumult, ruſhed into the great cabbin, where they put out the light and barricaded the door, while ſome of the others who had avoided the fury of the reſolute Indians, endeavoured to make their eſcape along the gang-ways in the forecaſtle; but the Indians placed on purpoſe, ſtabbed the greateſt part of them, as they attempted to paſs by, or forced them off the gang-ways into the waſte. Some threw themſelves over the barricadoes into the waſte, and thought themſelves happy in lying concealed amongſt the cattle, but the greateſt part ran up the main ſhrouds, and ſecured themſelves either in the tops or rigging. Thus with an intrepidity, perhaps without example, did theſe eleven Indians, almoſt in an inſtant poſſeſs themſelves of the quarter-deck of a ſhip mounting 66 guns, and manned with near 500 hands. The watch in the forecaſtle finding the communication cut off, had ran up the rigging of the foremaſt and bowſprit. The officers in the great cabbin, amongſt whom were Pizarro and

Mindinuetta, the crew between decks, and all who had fled, were only anxious for their own ſafety, and were long incapable of forming any project for recovering the poſſeſſion of the ſhip. The yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confuſed clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obſcurity of the night, filled them with the imaginary terrors which darkneſs, diſorder, and an utter ignorance of the real ſtrength of an enemy, conſtantly produce. And being ſenſible of the diſaffection of their preſſed hands, and conſcious of their own barbarity to their priſoners, they imagined the conſpiracy general, and conſidered their deſtruction as infallible; even ſome of them were ſo terrified as to take the reſolution of leaping into the ſea; but were prevented by their companions.

The Indians having cleared the quarter deck, the tumult in a great meaſure ſubſided, for thoſe who had been ſo happy as to eſcape were kept ſilent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of renewing the diſorder by purſuing them. Orellana now broke open the cheſt of arms, which a few days before had been removed to the quarter-deck, on a ſlight ſuſpicion of mutiny, as to a place of the greateſt ſecurity, but to his great diſappointment, found nothing but fire-arms; though had he removed theſe he would have come at the cutlaſſes, of which he was in ſearch, and in the uſe of which both he and his companions were extremely ſkilful.

At length Pizarro and his companions in the great cabbin began to converſe through the cabbin windows and port-holes with thoſe in the gun-room and between decks, whence they learned that the Engliſh, whom they chiefly ſuſpected, were all ſafe below, and at laſt diſcovered that none were concerned in the mutiny but Orellana and his people. Upon this Pizarro and the other officers

reſolved to attack the Indians, before any of the diſcontented on board ſhould recover their ſurprize and join them. Pizarro therefore got together the arms that were in the cabbin, which were only piſtols, and diſtributed them amongſt thoſe who were with him, and as they had neither powder nor ball, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabbin window, into which the gunner handed out of one of the gun-room ports a quantity of piſtol cartridges. Having thus procured ammunition, they loaded their piſtols, and ſetting the door a little open, fired ſeveral ſhots amongſt the Indians on the quarter-deck, but without effect, till at laſt Mindinuetta had the good fortune to ſhoot Orellana dead on the ſpot, when his faithful companions abandoning all thoughts of farther reſiſtance, inſtantly leaped into the ſea, and every one of them periſhed. Thus was this remarkable inſurrection quelled, and the quarter-deck regained, after it had been full two hours in the poſſeſſion of this great and intrepid chief, and his brave but unhappy countrymen.

Pizarro now continuing his voyage, arrived on the coaſt of Galicia, in the beginning of the year 1746, after his being abſent from Europe between four and five years, and having by his aſſiduity in endeavouring to defeat Mr. Anſon's meaſures, diminiſhed the naval power of Spain, by the deſtruction of four conſiderable ſhips of war, a patache, and above 3000 of the flower of the Spaniſh ſailors.

Beſides the above intelligence, all of which except that relating to Orellana, the commodore learned from the people and papers on board the Carmelo, he was informed, that though the Viceroy of Peru had laid an embargo on the ſhipping in thoſe ſeas, in the month of May preceding, it was now taken off, which made them flatter themſelves

with the hopes of obtaining valuable captures, that might indemnify them for the incapacity they were under of attempting any conſiderable Spaniſh ſettlements on ſhore, and the commodore having thus ſatisfied himſelf about the material articles of his inquiry, and taken on board the Centurion moſt of the priſoners and all the ſilver, he ſet ſail for Juan Fernandez, where both he and the prize came to an anchor the following day.

Upon a farther examination of the priſoners and papers, it appearing that ſeveral other merchantmen were bound from Callao to Valparaiſo, the commodore diſpatched the Tryal ſloop the very next morning to cruiſe off the laſt mentioned port, and alſo reſolved to ſeparate the ſhips under his command, and employ them in diſtinct cruiſes, by which means he would increaſe the chance of obtaining prizes, and run leſs hazard of alarming the coaſt. The ſailors now forgot all their paſt diſtreſſes, and reſuming their wonted alacrity, laboured indefatigably in preparing to take their laſt leave of the iſland; but as the preparations, notwithſtanding all their induſtry, took up four or five days, Mr. Anſon in that interval gave orders, that the guns belonging to the Anna Pink, which were four ſix-pounders, four four-pounders, and two ſwivels, ſhould be mounted on board the prize Carmelo, and having ſent ſix paſſengers and twenty-three ſeamen on board the Glouceſter to aſſiſt in navigating that ſhip, he directed Captain Mitchel to leave Fernandez and cruiſe off the iſland of Payta, at ſuch a diſtance from the ſhore as ſhould prevent his being diſcovered, and on this ſtation he was to continue till he ſhould be joined by the commodore. Theſe orders being delivered, the commodore weighed anchor on the 19th of September, in company with the prize, and getting out of the bay, took his laſt leave of

the iſland of Juan Fernandez, ſteering to the eaſtward in order to join the Tryal ſloop in her ſtation off Valparaiſo.

The Centurion upon leaving Juan Fernandez, was detained three days by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds within ſight of that iſland, but on the 25th of September, juſt before ſun-ſet, ſaw two ſail to the eaſtward, on which the prize ſtood directly from the Centurion to avoid giving any ſuſpicion of their being cruiſers, while the commodore made ready for an engagement, and ſteered with all his canvaſs, towards the ſhips he had diſcovered. It was ſoon perceived that one of theſe, which appeared to be a very ſtout ſhip, made directly towards him, while the other kept at a diſtance. By ſeven o'clock the Centurion was within piſtol ſhot of the neareſt, and had a broad-ſide ready to pour into her, the gunners with their matches in their hands waiting only for orders to fire; but as Mr. Anſon knew it was impoſſible for her to eſcape, he, before he ſuffered them to fire, ordered the maſter to hale them in Spaniſh, when the commanding officer on board, who proved to be Mr. Hughes, lieutenant of the Tryal, anſwered in Engliſh, and let them know that ſhe was a prize taken by the Tryal a few days before, and that the other ſhip at a diſtance was the Tryal herſelf, who was diſabled in her maſts. The Tryal ſoon after joined the Centurion, and Capt. Saunders her commander coming on board, informed the commodore that his prize was a prime ſailor, and had coſt him thirty-ſix hours chaſe; that for ſome time he began to deſpair of taking her, and the Spaniards, though alarmed at firſt with ſeeing nothing but a cloud of ſail in purſuit of them; (for the Tryal's hull was ſo low in the water, that no part of it appeared) yet finding how little the Tryal gained upon them, they at length laid aſide their fears, and altering their courſe in the night,

ſhut up their windows to prevent any of their lights being ſeen; but a ſmall crevice in one of the ſhutters rendered all their precautions ineffectual; for the Tryal's people perceiving a light through it, chaſed it till they arrived within gun-ſhot, when Captain Saunders uexpecteely alarmed them with a broad-ſide, and before he could fire another, they lowered their ſails, and ſubmitted without oppoſition. She was called the Arranzazu, and was one of the largeſt merchantmen employed in thoſe ſeas, being about 600 tons burden. Her cargo was much the ſame as that of the Carmelo, but her ſilver amounted only to about 5000l. ſterling.

This ſucceſs was, however, balanced by the Tryal's having the misfortune to ſpring her main-maſt; her main-top-maſt had alſo come by the board; and the next morning as they were all ſtanding to the eaſtward, ſhe ſprung her foremaſt. Theſe accidents were rendered more unhappy by the impoſſibility of aſſiſting her; for the wind then blew ſo hard that the commodore could not venture to hoiſt out his boat; ſo that as he could not think of leaving her in this unhappy ſituation, he was obliged to lay too, in order to attend her for the greateſt part of forty-eight hours; and as they were all the while driving from their ſtation, there was reaſon to fear that this deprived them of ſeveral conſiderable captures.

However, on the 27th, the weather proving more moderate, Mr. Anſon ſent his boat for the captain of the Tryal, who, on his coming on board produced an inſtrument ſigned by himſelf and all the officers, repreſenting that the ſloop, beſides being diſmaſted, was ſo very leaky in her hull, that it was neceſſary to ply the pumps even in moderate weather; and if the weather ſhould prove bad, they muſt all inevitably periſh; when the commodore conſidering that he had not the neceſ-

ſary ſtores proper for repairing her, gave orders for her being deſtroyed; but conceiving it expedient to keep up the appearance of the ſame force, appointed the Tryal's prize, which the viceroy of Peru had often employed as a man of war, to be a frigate in his majeſty's ſervice, and to be manned by the Tryal's crew, under the ſame captain and officers. When in the Spaniſh ſervice ſhe had mounted thirty-two guns, but was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve on board the Tryal, and eight that had belonged to the Anna Pink. This being determined, Captain Saunders was directed to take out of the ſloop the arms, ammunition, ſtores, and every thing that could be of uſe to the other ſhips, and then to ſcuttle and ſink her; after which he was to proceed with his new frigate, which was to be called the Tryal's Prize, and to cruize off the iſland of Valparaiſo, where he was to continue twenty-four days; and if not joined by the commodore in that time, he was to proceed down the coaſt of Piſco, or Naſca, where he would be certain of meeting with Mr. Anſon. Theſe orders being given, the Centurion left the other veſſels on the 27th of September, in order to cruiſe for ſome days off Valparaiſo.

Notwithſtanding this diſpoſition was the moſt prudent that could be imagined, conſidering the ſmallneſs of the commodore's force, yet he had not the happineſs to ſee any ſhips, at any of theſe ſtations, and being joined by the Tryal's and Centurion's prizes, the latter of which had aſſiſted in clearing and ſcuttling the Tryal, it was reſolved to join Captain Mitchel, who was ſtationed off Payta, that if a Spaniſh ſquadron ſhould be fitted out at Callao, they might, by uniting their ſtrength be prepated to give it a warm reception. With this view they ſtood to northward, and on the 5th of November came in ſight of the high land of Barranca, and an hour afterwards, had the ſatiſ-

faction they ſo long wiſhed for of ſeeing a ſail, upon which they immediately gave chaſe; but the Centurion out-ſailing the two prizes, run them out of ſight, and gained conſiderably on the chaſe. However, as the night came on, ſhe about ſeven o'clock, loſt ſight of her, and the officers were in ſome perplexity what courſe to ſteer; but at laſt the commodore reſolved, as they were then before the wind, not to change his courſe. The chaſe was thus continued about an hour and a half in the dark, ſome or other conſtantly imagining they diſcerned her ſails right-a-head; but, at length, Mr. Brett the ſecond lieutenant, really diſcovered her, about four points to the larboard, ſteering off to the ſeaward, and immediately ſtanding for her, they, in leſs than a hour, came up with her, and having fired fourteen ſhot at her, ſhe ſtruck. Mr. Dennis, the Centurion's third lieutenant, was ſent in the boat with ſixteen men, to take poſſeſſion of the prize, when he found that ſhe was about 300 tons burden, was named the Santa Tereſa de Jeſus; was bound from Guaiaquil to Callao, and that her lading conſiſted of hides, timber, tobacco, cocoa, cocoa-nuts, Quito thread, which is very ſtrong, and made of a ſpecies of graſs, wax, Quito cloth, &c. But the ſpecie on board amounted to no more than 170l. Though the cargo was of great value to the Spaniards, yet as they had ſtrict orders never to ranſom their ſhips, all the goods taken in theſe ſeas, except what the Engliſh themſelves had occaſion for, were of no other advantage, than as it was a loſs to the enemy.

Beſides the crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were ten paſſengers on board, four men and three women, who were natives of the country, but born of Spaniſh parents, together with three black ſlaves that attended them; the women were, the mother, and her two daughters,

the eldeſt of whom was about twenty one, and the youngeſt about fourteen. Theſe women were extremely terrified, and in the greateſt diſtreſs at their falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the Buccaneers, and the artful inſinuations of their prieſts, they had been taught to conſider as the moſt brutal amd terrible of all mankind. Theſe dreadful apprehenſions were greatly heightened by the remarkable beauty of the youngeſt of the women, and the riotous diſpoſition they might reaſonably expect to find in a ſet of ſailors, who had not ſeen a woman for near a twelve month. Filled with theſe terrors, the women hid themſelves as ſoon as the officer came on board; and when they were diſcovered he found much difficulty in perſuading them to approach the light. However, he ſoon convinced them by his humane behaviour, and his aſſurances of their future ſafety and honourable treatment, that all their apprehenſions were groundleſs. The commodore being informed of the terror they had diſcovered, immediately ſent word that they ſhould be continued on board their own ſhip, have the uſe of the ſame apartments, and all the other conveniences they had before enjoyed; he gave ſtrict orders that they ſhould receive no moleſtation or diſturbance whatſoever. To give them the greater certainty that theſe orders would be complied with, as well as to afford them the means of complaining if they were not, he allowed the pilot, who is generally the ſecond perſon on board the Spaniſh ſhips, to ſtay with them, as their guardian and protector, an office to which this pilot was choſen by Mr. Anſon, from his ſeeming extremely intereſted in every thing relating to the women; and his at firſt declaring he was married to the youngeſt of them, though it afterwards appeared, that he had aſſerted this with no other view but to ſecure them the better from the treatment they

expected to find on their falling into the hands of the Engliſh. By this compaſſionate and indulgent behaviour their conſternation entirely ſubſided, and they continued eaſy and cheerful during the whole time they remained priſoners.

The next morning the Centurion was joined by her two conſorts, when they proceeded together to the northward, they being now four ſail in company. They here found the ſea for many miles round them, of a beautiful red colour, which, upon examination, was imputed to an immenſe quantity of ſpawn ſwimming upon its ſurface; for ſome of the water being taken up in a wine glaſs, it had there a dirty appearance, but ſoon changed to a clear cryſtal, with only ſome red globules of a ſlimy nature floating on the top. As they had a ſupply of timber on board their new prize, the commodore gave orders for repairing their boats, and for fixing a ſwivel gun-ſtock in the bow both of the barge and pinnace, in order to increaſe their force, in caſe he ſhould be obliged to make uſe of them in boarding ſhips, or for any attempts on ſhore.

Though they continued ſtanding to the northward, nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days, notwithſtanding the ſhips were ſpread in ſuch a manner, that it was hardly poſſible for any of the enemy's veſſels to eſcape them. In their run along this coaſt it was obſerved that there was a current which ſet them to the northward at the rate of ten or twelve miles a day. Being now in about eight degrees of ſouth latitude, they began to be attended with vaſt numbers of flying-fiſh and bonitos, which were the firſt they ſaw after their departure from the coaſt of Braſil. But it is obſervable, that on the eaſt ſide of South-America, they extended to a much higher latitude than they did on the weſt ſide; for the ſailors did not loſe ſight of them on the coaſt of Braſil till they

approached the ſouthern tropic. The reaſon of which is doubtleſs the different degrees of heat obtaining in the ſame latitude on different ſides of the continent. For it is evident that the temperature of a place depends much more upon other circumſtances than its diſtance from the pole, or its proximity to the equinoctial. Thus it was found by this ſquadron, that though the coaſt of Braſil is extremely ſultry, yet the coaſt of the South Sea, in the ſame latitude, is perhaps as temperate as any part of the globe, ſince in ranging along it, they did not once meet with ſuch warm weather as is frequent in a ſummer's day in England, which was the more extraordinary, as there never falls any rain to refreſh and cool the air. On the coaſt of Peru, and even under the equinoctial itſelf, every circumſtance concurred to make the open air and day-light deſirable, for in other countries the ſcorching heat of the ſun in ſummer renders the greateſt part of the day unapt either for labour or amuſement, and the frequent rains are not leſs troubleſome in the more temperate parts of the year. But in this delightful climate the ſun rarely appears, for there is conſtantly a cheerful grey ſky, juſt ſufficient to ſcreen the ſun and to mitigate the violence of its perpendicular rays, without obſcuring the air or tinging the day-light with an unpleaſant or melancholy appearance. Thus all parts of the day are proper for labour or exerciſe abroad, while the refreſhing and agreeable coolneſs of the air in other climates produced by rains, is here brought about by freſh breezes, from the cooler regions to the ſouthward.

It is not to be doubted, that this happy complexion of the heavens is chiefly owing to the neighbourhood of thoſe vaſt mountains called the Andes, which running nearly parallel to the ſhore, from whence they are but a ſmall diſtance, and extending themſelves immenſely higher than any

other mountains upon the globe, form upon their ſides and declivities a prodigious tract of country, where, according to the different approaches to their ſummit, all kinds of climates may at all ſeaſons be found. Theſe mountains intercept great part of the eaſtern winds which generally blow upon the continent of South-America, cool that part of the air which forces its way over the tops, and keep a large part of the atmoſphere perpetually cool, from its contiguity to the ſnows, with which they are conſtantly covered. Thus theſe mountains, by ſpreading the influence of their frozen creſts to the neighbouring coaſts and ſeas of Peru, are doubtleſs the cauſe of the temperature and equability which conſtantly prevail there. But when this ſquadron had advanced beyond the equinoctial, and left theſe mountains, the people had nothing to ſcreen them to the eaſtward, but the high lands on the iſthmus of Panama, which are but molehills to the Andes, they then experienced, in a ſhort time, an entire change of climate, and in two or three days paſſed from the temperate air of Peru to the ſultry burning atmoſphere of the Weſt-Indies.

On the 10th of November, the commodore was within three leagues of the ſouthermoſt iſland of Labos, lying in ſix degrees twenty-ſeven minutes ſouth latitude, and now drawing near the ſtation appointed for the Glouceſter, made an eaſy ſail all night; but the next morning at day-break, ſaw a ſhip in ſhore, and to windward, which had paſſed the ſquadron by favour of the night, and was plying up the coaſt. As ſhe was ſoon perceived not to be the Glouceſter, they got their tacks on board, and gave her chace; but there being very little wind, which prevented any of the ſhips making much way, the commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace, and the Tryal's pinnace, to be manned and armed, to purſue the chace, and board her.

Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her about nine o'clock, and running along ſide of her, fired a volley of ſmall ſhot between the maſts, over the heads of the people on board, and then inſtantly entered with moſt of his men, the enemy making no reſiſtance, they being ſufficiently frightened by the volley they had juſt received, and the dazzling of the cutlaſſes. Lieutenant Brett immediately ordered the ſails to be trimmed, and bore down to the commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces; but when he came within four miles of the Centurion he put off in the barge with a number of priſoners, from whom he had learned ſome material intelligence, which he was deſirous of communicating to the commodore as ſoon as poſſible. The prize was named Neuſtra Senora del Carmin; it was of about 270 tons burden, and had on board forty-three mariners, and was deeply laden with ſteel, iron, plank, cedar, pepper, cinnamon, powder, European bale goods, ſnuff, roſaries, Romiſh indulgences, and other ſpecies of merchandize. Though this cargo, in their preſent circumſtances, was but of little value, yet it was a greater loſs to the Spaniards than any capture they had made in that part of the world; for it amounted to above 400,000 dollars prime coſt at Panama. This ſhip was bound to Callao, and had ſtopped at Payta in her paſſage to take in a freſh ſupply of water and proviſion, having left that place but about twenty-four hours, before ſhe fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and from the paſſengers on board this ſhip lieutenant Brett had been informed, that a few days before a veſſel had entered Payta, the maſter of which had told the governor that he had been chaſed by a very large ſhip, which, from her ſize, and the colour of her ſails, he imagined to be one of the Engliſh ſquadron, and that the governor being fully ſatisfied with this relation, had imme-

diately ſent an expreſs to Lima to carry the news to the viceroy, while the royal officer reſiding at Payta, being apprehenſive of a viſit from the Engliſh, had from his firſt learning this intelligence, been buſily employed in removing both the king's treaſure and his own to Piura, a town within land at about fourteen leagues diſtance, but that there was a conſiderable ſum of money belonging to ſome merchants of Lima, lodged in the cuſtom-houſe of Payta, which was intended to be ſent on board a veſſel then in the port, and that was preparing to ſail with the utmoſt expedition; it being bound for the bay of Sonſonnate on the coaſt of Mexico, to purchaſe a part of the cargo of the Manilla ſhip.

It was immediately conjectured, that the large ſhip which had chaſed the veſſel into Payta was the Glouceſter, as indeed it was; and it being found that the veſſel in which the money was to be ſhipped was eſteemed a prime ſailer, and had juſt received a new coat of tallow on her bottom, it was concluded that they had no chance of coming up with her, if they ſuffered her to eſcape out of the port. Therefore as they were now diſcovered, and the coaſt would be ſoon alarmed, ſo as to prevent their cruiſing being of any advantage, the commodore, after minutely enquiring into the ſtrength and condition of the place, reſolved to endeavour to ſurprize it that very night.

Payta is ſituated in a barren ſoil, only compoſed of ſand and ſlate; it is in 5°. 12'. ſouth latitude, and does not furniſh a drop of freſh water, or any kind of greens or proviſions, except fiſh and a few goats; but about two or three leagues diſtant, there is a town called Colan, whence water, maize, greens, fowls, &c. are conveyed to Payta, on floats, for the convenienee of the ſhips that touch there; and cattle are brought from Piura, a town which lies almoſt fourteen degrees up in the coun-

try. The water fetched from Colan is whitiſh, and has a diſagreeable look; but is ſaid to be very wholeſome, the inhabitants pretending that it runs through large woods of Sarſaparilla, and that it is ſenſibly impregnated with it. The port of Payta, though in reality little more than a bay, is eſteemed the beſt in that part of the coaſt; and indeed, it affords a very ſecure and commodious anchorage; it is therefore much frequented by all veſſels coming from the north, ſince there is no other place for the ſhips from Acapulco, Sonſonnate, Realejo, and Panama, to take in refreſhments in the paſſage to Callao, and the wind being for the greateſt part of the year full againſt them, renders it impoſſible for them to perform theſe long voyages, without ſtopping upon the coaſt for a recruit of freſh water. The town was but of ſmall extent, as it contained leſs than 200 families. The houſes were only ground floors, the walls of which were built of ſplit cane and mud, and the roofs were thatched with leaves; but though theſe edifices were extremely ſlight, they were ſufficient for a climate, where rain is conſidered as a prodigy, and is not ſeen in many years.

Mr. Anſon, on inquiring into the ſtrength of the place, was told, that it had no other protection than the fort, in which were mounted eight pieces of cannon; that it had neither ditch nor out-work, it being only ſurrounded by a plain brick-wall, and that the garriſon conſiſted of but one weak company, though the town might poſſibly arm 300 men more.

The commodore, conſidering that the ſtrength of the place did not require his whole force, and that his ſhips might be eaſily ſeen at a diſtance, even in the night, which would alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects, reſolved to attempt it with the boats only, and ordered the eighteen oared

barges with his own, and the Tryal pinnaces, on that ſervice. Having picked out fifty-eight men, well furniſhed with arms and ammunition, and entruſted the command of the expedition to Lieut. Brett; to prevent the confuſion which poſſibly might ariſe from their ignorance of the ſtreets, and the darkneſs of the night, he ordered two of the Spaniſh pilots to conduct the lieutenant to the moſt convenient landing-place, and to be his guides on ſhore; to ſecure their fidelity, the priſoners were informed that they ſhould all of them be releaſed, and landed at this place, provided the pilots acted faithfully: at the ſame time he threatened the pilots, that if they were guilty of treachery, or miſconduct, they ſhould be inſtantly ſhot, and he would carry the reſt of the Spaniards on board priſoners to England.

About 10 o'clock at night, at which time the ſhips were within five leagues of the place, Lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived without being diſcovered, at the mouth of the bay; but he had no ſooner entered it, than he was perceived by ſome of the people on board a veſſel riding at anchor, who immediately getting into their boat, rowed towards the ſhore, ſhouting and crying, "The Engliſh, the Engliſh dogs," &c. by which the whole town was inſtantly alarmed, and the men in the boats ſoon perceived ſeveral lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in motion. Upon this Lieutenant Brett encouraged his men to pull up briſkly, that they might allow the enemy as little time as poſſible to prepare for their defence. But before the boats could reach the ſhore, the ſoldiers in the fort had got ſome of the cannon ready, which they pointed towards the landing place, and the firſt ſhot paſſed very near one of the boats, whiſtling juſt over the heads of the crew. Upon this

the men redoubled their efforts, ſo that they had reached the ſhore, and part of them were landed by the time the ſecond gun was fired. The men were no ſooner on ſhore, than one of the Spaniſh pilots conducted them to the entrance of a narrow ſtreet, where they were covered from the fire of the fort, and being formed in the beſt manner the ſhortneſs of the time would permit, they inſtantly marched to the parade, a large ſquare at the end of this ſtreet, the fort being on one ſide, and the governor's houſe on the other. In this march, which was performed with tolerable regularity, the ſhouts and clamours of three ſcore ſailors, who had been ſo long confined on ſhip-board, and were now for the firſt time on ſhore, in an enemy's country, joyous as they always are, when they land, and beſides, animated with the hopes of immenſe plunder; the huzzas, I ſay, of this ſpirited detachment, added to the noiſe of their drums, had ſo augmented their numbers in the opinion of the enemy, that their fear made them more ſolicitous about the means of flight than of reſiſtance. However, the merchants who owned the treaſure then in the town, had, with a few others, ranged themſelves in a gallery that run round the Governor's houſe, and thence diſcharged a volley upon the Engliſh ſailors; but upon their returning the fire, they abandoned the poſt, and left the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of the parade.

Lieutenant Brett, upon this ſucceſs, divided his men into two parties, one of which he ordered to ſurround the governor's houſe, and if poſſible to ſecure the governor, while he himſelf, at the head of the other, marched to the fort, with a deſign to force it, but to his great ſurpriſe, he entered it without oppoſition; for the enemy abandoned it on his approach, and made their eſcape over the walls. Thus the whole place was taken in leſs than a quarter of an hour's time from their firſt landing,

with no other loſs than one man killed on the ſpot, and two wounded.

Lieutenant Brett now placed a guard at the fort, and another at the governor's houſe, and then appointed centinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent being ſurpriſed by the enemy, and to ſecure the effects from being embezzled. This being done, his next care was to ſeize upon the cuſtom-houſe, where the treaſure was depoſited, and to examine whether any of the inhabitants remained in the town, in order to know what farther precautions it was neceſſary for him to take; but he ſoon found that he was in no danger from the numbers left behind; for moſt of the people being in bed when the place was ſurpriſed, had fled with ſuch precipitation, that they had not allowed themſelves time to put on their clothes; and the governor himſelf was not the laſt in providing for his own ſafety, for he fled before moſt of the reſt half naked, leaving his wife a young lady about ſeventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days; but ſhe too was afterwards carried off in her ſhift by a couple of centinels, juſt as the detachment arrived before the houſe. The few inhabitants who remained were confined under a guard in one of the churches, except ſome ſtout negroes, who were employed the remaining part of the night, to aſſiſt in carrying the treaſure from the cuſtom-houſe and other places to the fort; but theſe were always attended by a file of muſketeers.

The conveyance of the treaſure from the cuſtom-houſe was the principal employment of Mr. Brett's people; but while the ſailors were thus buſied they could not be prevented from entering the houſes in their way, in ſearch of private pillage, where the firſt things they obſerved being the clothes left by the Spaniards in their flight, which, according to the cuſtom of the country,

were moſt of them either embroidered or laced, they eagerly ſeized theſe glittering habits, and ſlipped them on over their own dirty trowſers and jackets, at the ſame time not forgetting the tye or bag wig, and laced hat, which were generally found with the clothes, and this practice being once began, there was no preventing its being imitated by the whole detachment. But thoſe who came lateſt into the faſhion, not finding men's clothes ſufficient to equip themſelves, took up with womens' gowns and petticoats, which, provided they were rich enough, they made no ſcruple of putting on, and blending with their own greaſy dreſs, ſo that Mr. Brett was extremely ſurpriſed at their groteſque figure, when a party thus ridiculouſly metamorphoſed firſt came before him, and could ſcarcely know them.

Mean while the Centurion and the other ſhips made an eaſy ſail towards Payta, and about ſeven in the morning began to open the bay. Though thoſe on board had no reaſon to doubt of the ſucceſs of the enterprize; yet it was with great joy they diſcovered, by means of their perſpectives, an Engliſh flag hoiſted on the flag-ſtaff of the fort. They then plied into the bay with as much expedition as poſſible, and at eleven the Tryal's boat came on board the Centurion, laden with dollars and church plate, when the officers who commanded it informed the commodore of the tranſactions of the preceding night.

Mr. Brett hitherto went on collecting and removing the treaſure without interruption, while the enemy aſſembled from all parts of the country, on a hill at the back of the town, where they made a conſiderable appearance, having, amongſt the reſt of their force, about 200 horſe that ſeemed well armed, mounted, and furniſhed with trumpets, drums, and ſtandards. They paraded about

the hill with great oſtentation, ſounding their military muſic, and practiſing every art to intimidate the few who were on ſhore, whoſe numbers were now known, to induce them to abandon the place before the pillage was completed. Mr. Brett however proceeded in ſending off the treaſure, and in employing the boats to carry on board refreſhments, ſuch as hogs, fowls, &c. as long as it was light. To prevent any ſurpriſe in the night, the commodore ſent a reinforcement on ſhore, which was poſted in all the paſſages leading to the parade, and for their farther ſecurity, the ſtreets were fortified with barricadoes ſix feet high. But as the enemy remained quiet all the night, they reſumed at day-break the employment of loading the boats, and ſending them off.

It now appeared of what importance it would have been, had it been poſſible to have ſecured the governor; for had he been in their power, he would probably been induced to treat for the ranſom of many ſtore-houſes full of valuable effects, for which the commodore had no room on board, but which would have been of extraordinary advantage to him. Having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, he was ſo elated with his numbers, and ſo fond of his new military command, that he ſeemed to have loſt all concern for the fate of his government, and though the commodore ſent ſeveral meſſages to him by ſome whom he had taken priſoners, offering to ranſom the town upon eaſy terms, he was ſo arrogant and impudent, that he would not even return an anſwer.

On the ſecond day of the Engliſh being in poſſeſſion of the place, the Spaniards were in ſuch want of water, that many of their ſlaves crept into the town by ſtealth, and carried away ſeveral jars of water to their maſters on the hill; and Mr. Brett was informed, both by the deſerters and

ſome priſoners he took, as they were carrying away the water, that the Spaniards on the hill being encreaſed to a formidable number, had reſolved to ſtorm the town and fort the ſucceeding night, when one Gordon, a Scotch papiſt, was to have the command of that enterprize. He, however, continued ſending off the boats, without the leaſt hurry or precipitation, till the evening, when a reinforcement was again ordered on ſhore by Mr. Anſon, and Mr. Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes. The different poſts were connected by means of centinels placed within call of each other, and the whole viſited by frequent rounds attended with a drum. Theſe marks of the vigilance and readineſs of the Engliſh to receive them, damped their reſolution; ſo that they paſſed that night with as little moleſtation as they had done the former.

As Mr. Brett had the evening before ſent all the treaſure on board the Centurion, the boats were employed on the third morning, which was the 15th of November, in carrying off the moſt valuable part of the effects that remained in the town; and the commodore intending to ſail in the afternoon, he about ten o'clock ſent all his priſoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on ſhore, giving orders to Lieutenant Brett to ſecure them in one of the churches, till the men were ready to embark. Mr. Brett was at the ſame time ordered to burn the whole town, except the two churches, which ſtood at ſome diſtance from the houſes, after which he was to abandon the place, and return on board. That gentleman punctually complied with theſe orders, for ſetting his men to work, he diſtributed pitch, tar, and other combuſtibles, of which there were great quantities in the town, into houſes ſituated in different ſtreets, that the place being fired in many quarters at the ſame time, the deſtruction might be the more violent and ſudden, and the

enemy after his departure might not be able to extinguiſh it. This being done, he cauſed the cannon in the fort to be nailed up, and then ſetting fire to ſuch houſes as were to the windward, he collected his men and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. That part of the beach whence he intended to embark being an open place without the town, the Spaniards on the hill perceived he was retreating, and reſolved, in order to lay ſome foundation for future boaſting, to try if they could precipitate their departure; for this purpoſe, a ſmall ſquadron of about ſixty horſe marched down the hill with much ſeeming reſolution; but notwithſtanding the pomp and parade with which they at firſt came on, Mr. Brett had no ſooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than they put a ſtop to their career, and did not dare to advance a ſtep farther while he continued on the beach.

On their arrival at the boats, in order to go on board, the men were ſome time retarded by miſſing one of their number, and being unable by their enquiries amongſt each other to learn where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they after a conſiderable delay, got into the boats, in order to depart without him, but when the laſt man was actually embarked, and the boats were putting off, they heard him calling to them to take him in. The town was by this time ſo completely on fire, and the ſmoke covered the beach with ſuch a cloud, that they could ſcarcely diſcern him though they heard his voice; the lieutenant, however, immediately ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durſt, being extremely terrified at the apprehenſions of falling into the hands of an enemy, who were doubtleſs enraged at the plunder and deſtruction of their town. Inquiry being made into the cauſe of his

ſtaying behind the reſt, it was found that he had that morning taken too large a doſe of brandy, which had thrown him into ſo ſound a ſleep that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to ſcorch him. At firſt opening his eyes he was ſtrangely amazed at ſeeing on the one hand all the houſes in a blaze, and on the other ſeveral Spaniards and Indians near him. The great and ſuddenneſs of his fright inſtantly reduced him to a ſtate of ſobriety, and gave him the preſence of mind to puſh through the thickeſt of the ſmoke, the likelieſt means of eſcaping the enemy, and then making the beſt of his way to the beach, he, though he could not ſwim, ran as far into the water as he durſt, before he ventured to look back; but to the honour of all the other brave fellows who were on ſhore, though there were great quantities of wine and ſpirituous liquors, ready at their hands, at almoſt every warehouſe, this was the only man who was known to have ſo far neglected his duty as to get drunk.

By the time the ſailors had helped their comrade out of the water, and were rowing to the ſquadron, the flames had ſeized every part of the town, and by means of the combuſtibles, the ſlightneſs of the materials of which the houſes were built, and their aptneſs to take fire, had taken ſuch hold, that it was viſible no endeavours of the enemy, though they flocked down in great numbers, could poſſibly prevent the entire deſtruction of the town, and all the merchandize contained in it.

Lieutenant Brett's detachment having joined the ſquadron, the commodore prepared to ſail that evening. At his firſt coming into the bay he found ſix of the enemy's veſſels at anchor, one of which was the ſhip that was to have conveyed the treaſure to the coaſt of Mexico, and being informed ſhe was a good ſailer, he reſolved to take her with

him. There were alſo two ſnows, a bark, and two row galleys of thirty-ſix oars each, which the commodore having no occaſion for, had ordered the maſts of all the five to be cut away at his firſt arrival, and on his leaving the place, they were towed out of the harbour, ſcuttled, and ſunk, the command of the other ſhip was given to Mr. Hughes, the lieutenant of the Tryal, who was allowed ten men to navigate her; and the ſquadron was now augmented to ſix ſail, that is, the Centurion, the Tryal's Prize, the Carmelo, the Carmin, the Tereſa, and the Solidad, the laſt acquired veſſel weighed anchor about midnight, and ſailed out of the bay.

The loſs of the Spaniards by the deſtruction of Payta was very conſiderable, ſince a very great part of the goods that were burned, conſiſted of velvets, cambricks, ſilks, broad-cloths, &c. and though the acquiſiton made by the Engliſh was very inconſiderable in compariſion with what was deſtroyed, yet it was far from being deſpicable, for the wrought plate, dollars, and other coin which fell into their hands amounted to about 30,000l. ſterling, beſides ſeveral rings, bracelets, and jewels, whoſe value could not then be determined; the plunder that became the property of the immediate captors was alſo very conſiderable, ſo that this was the moſt important booty they had hitherto met with.

It has already been obſerved, that all the priſoners taken in the preceding prizes were ſet on ſhore and diſcharged at Payta, and as the honour done to the national character in thoſe parts was very great, from the humanity and generoſity with which Mr. Anſon behaved to thoſe who fell into his hands, this circumſtance deſerves to be more particularly related. Amongſt theſe priſoners were ſome perſons of conſiderable diſtinction, and in particular a youth of about ſeventeen years of

age, the ſon of the vice-preſident of the council of Chili. As the natives of thoſe countries had the moſt terrible ideas of the cruelty of the Engliſh, all the priſoners at their being firſt taken on board the Engliſh ſquadron were under great horror and anxiety of mind, but the young gentleman juſt mentioned who had never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the moſt moving expreſſions, regretting in very plaintive terms, the loſs of his parents, his brothers, his ſiſters, and his native country, being fully perſuaded, that he had taken his laſt farewel of them, and that he was devoted for the remainder of his life to an abject and cruel ſervitude; indeed, all the Spaniſh priſoners had the ſame deſponding opinion of their ſituation; but Mr. Anſon inſtantly exerted all his endeavours to efface theſe terrifying impreſſions, by taking care that as many principal perſons amongſt them as there was room for, ſhould by turns dine at his table, and by giving the ſtricteſt orders, that they ſhould be at all times treated with the utmoſt humanity and decency; but notwithſtanding this, it was obſerved that for the firſt two or three days, they retained their fears, and ſuſpected the gentleneſs of their uſuage was preparatory to ſome unknown calamity: but at length, being convinced of the commodore's ſincerity, they grew remarkably cheerful, and the youth above mentioned not only conquered his fears, but entertained a great affection for Mr. Anſon, and ſeemed ſo delighted with a manner of life different from every thing he had known before, that it was doubted whether he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the Centurion, to his being immediately ſet on ſhore at Payta.

As the commodore's humanity was conſtant and uniform, it gave the priſoners favourable ſentiments of the whole Engliſh nation; and their good opinion was greatly increaſed by the commodore's

leaving the ladies taken in the Tereſa the poſſeſſion of their apartments, in preventing all his people on board from approaching them, and allowing the pilot to ſtay with them as their guardian: at which the Spaniards on board were the more ſurpriſed, as it was done without his ever ſeeing the women, though the two daughters were both eſteemed handſome, and the youngeſt was a celebrated beauty. The women themſelves were ſo ſenſible of the obligations they owed him on this account, that they abſolutely refuſed to go on ſhore at Payta, till they were allowed to wait on the commodore, on board the Centurion, to return him thanks in perſon; and, indeed, all the priſoners left the Engliſh with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their grateful remembrance of the generous treatment they had met with. In particular a Jeſuit who had been taken by the commodore, and who was an eccleſiaſtic of ſome diſtinction, returned his thanks for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring that he ſhould always conſider it was his duty to do Mr. Anſon juſtice, and added, that his treatment of the men priſoners was ſuch as could never be forgot, but that his behaviour to the women was ſo extraordinary, that he doubted whether the regard due to his own eccleſiaſtical character would be ſufficient to render it credible. Mr. Walter obſerves, "That "he was afterwards informed that both he and "the reſt of the priſoners had not been ſilent on "this head; but had both at Lima, and other "places given the greateſt encomiums on the com- "modore, the Jeſuit in particular, having on his "account interpreted in a lax and hypothetical "ſenſe, that article of his church which aſſerts "the impoſſibility of heretics being ſaved."

The ſquadron having ſet ſail from Payta on the 16th of November, at about mid-night, the commodore in the morning gave orders for the ſhips

to diſperſe, in order to look out for the Glouceſter. A jealouſy now aroſe between thoſe who had been commanded on ſhore, and thoſe who had continued on board, occaſioned by the private plunder got at Payta, which the former conſidered as a reward for the riſks they had run, and the reſolution they had ſhewn, while thoſe who remained on board, urged, that had it been left to their choice, they ſhould have preferred acting on ſhore to continuing on board, and that while their comrades were on land, their duty was extremely fatiguing, ſince they were conſtantly under arms to ſecure the priſoners, whoſe numbers exceeded their own, to prevent any attempts that might be formed at that critical juncture, and that a ſufficient force on board was as neceſſary to the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, as the action of the others on ſhore, and this diſpute aroſe to ſuch a height, that the commodore thought it neceſſary to interpoſe his authority, before it was attended with any miſchievous conſequences. Accordingly on the morning after their leaving Payta, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-deck, and addreſſing himſelf to thoſe who had been detached on ſhore, highly commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their ſervices on that occaſion. He then repreſented the reaſons urged by thoſe who had continued on board for an equal diviſion of plunder, obſerved, that he thought their reaſons very concluſive, and the expectations of their comrades extremely juſt; he therefore inſiſted, that not only the private men but all the officers who had aſſiſted in taking of the place, ſhould produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck, in order to be impartially divided amongſt the whole crew in proportion to their rank; but to prevent thoſe who had it in their poſſeſſion from murmuring at this diminution of their ſhare, the commodore added, that as an encouragement to others

who might hereafter be employed in the like ſervices, he would give his intire ſhare to be diſtributed amongſt thoſe who had been detached for the attack of the place.

Thus was this troubleſome affair determined to the general ſatisfaction of the ſhip's company, except of a few, who were incapable of diſcerning the force of equity, or were too avaricious to be willing to part with any ſhare of what they had once got into their poſſeſſion. The next morning they obſerved the Glouceſter with a ſmall veſſel in tow, and learned from Captain Mitchel, that in the whole time of his cruize, he had taken only two prizes, one of which was a ſmall ſnow, whoſe cargo conſiſted of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about 7000l. in ſpecie, and the other a launch or large boat which the Glouceſter's barge came up with near ſhore, the priſoners on board of which had alleged, that they were very poor, and that their lading only conſiſted of cotton; but the circumſtance in which the barge ſurpriſed them ſeemed to prove their being more wealthy than they pretended; for the Glouceſter's people found them at dinner upon pigeon-pye, ſerved up in ſilver diſhes. However, the officer who commanded the barge on his opening ſeveral of the jars on board and finding nothing in them but cotton, was ready to believe the account given him by the priſoners, but the cargo being taken on board the Glouceſter, all were agreeably ſurprized to find, that the whole was a very extraordinary package, and that in every jar there was concealed amongſt the cotton, a conſiderable quantity of double doubloons and dollars, to the amount in the whole of near 20,000l. This treaſure was going to Payta, and belonged to the merchants, who were the proprietors of the greateſt part of the money taken at that town. Captain Mitchel had alſo been in ſight of two or three other of the

enemy's ſhips which had eſcaped him; one of which, there was reaſon to believe, was of immenſe value.

The ſquadron being now joined by the Glouceſter and her prize, it was reſolved to ſteer as ſoon as poſſible to the ſouthern parts of California, or to the adjacent coaſt of Mexico, in order to cruize for the Manilla galleon, which was known to be at ſea, bound to the port of Acapulco, and as they were now in the middle of November, and that ſhip did not uſually arrive till the middle of January, they did not doubt of getting on that ſtation time enough to intercept her, notwithſtanding they found it neceſſary to take in a freſh ſupply of water at the iſland of Quibo, ſituated at the mouth of the bay of Panama, and being now eight ſail in company, continued ſailing to the northward; but on their arriving at Cape Blanco in 4°. 15'. ſouth latitude, it was found that the Solidad was far from anſwering the character given her of being a prime ſailer, and ſhe and the Santa Tereſa delaying the ſquadron, the commodore ordered them both to be cleared of every thing that might be of uſe to the reſt of the ſhips, and then to be burned, and having given proper inſtructions to the Glouceſter, and the other prizes, the Centurion proceeded in her courſe for Quibo.

On the 22d in the morning they came in ſight of the iſland of Plata; at three in the afternoon they were within three miles of point Manta, and there being a town of the ſame name in the neighbourhood, Capt. Mitchel took that opportunity of ſending away ſeveral of his priſoners from the Glouceſter in the Spaniſh launch. The boats were now daily employed in diſtributing proviſions on board the prizes, to complete their ſtock for ſix months. One of the Manilla ſhips being ſaid to be of an immenſe ſize, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight ſtocks in the main and foretops

of the Centurion, which were properly fitted for the mounting of ſwivel guns, in order that ſhe might be the better prepared to give her a warm reception.

On the 22d they paſſed the equinoctial, when ſtanding towards the iſthmus, they had not only an extraordinary alteration of the climate, but frequent calms and heavy rains, which ſoon made it neceſſary to caulk the decks and ſides of the Centurion, to prevent the rain from running into her.

On the 3d of December in the evening they caſt anchor at the iſland of Quibo, which they found to be extremely convenient for wooding and watering, ſince the trees grow cloſe to the high-water mark, and a large rapid ſtream of freſh water runs over the ſandy beach into the ſea, ſo that they were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water they wanted.

The whole iſland, except one part of it, is of a very moderate height, and its ſurface is covered with a continual wood, that preſerves its verdure all the year. Among the other trees they found abundance of caſſia, but notwithſtanding the climate and ſhelter afforded for birds they ſaw no other but mackaws, parrots and parroquets, but of the former there were prodigious flights. The animals of which there were moſt plenty, were monkeys and guanoes, which they frequently killed for food, but though they diſcovered many herds of deer, yet the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented their coming near them, ſo that they killed but two during their ſtay. Their priſoners informed them that the iſland abounded with tygers, but they never ſaw any of them, and alſo that there was frequently found in the woods a moſt miſchievous ſerpent, called the flying ſnake, which darted itſelf from the boughs of trees, on either man or beaſt that came within its reach, and

its ſting was believed to produce inevitable death. The ſea about the iſland is infeſted with a great number of alligators of an extraordinary ſize, and the people often obſerved a large kind of flat fiſh, jumping a conſiderable height out of the water, which they ſuppoſed to be the fiſh that is ſaid frequently to deſtroy the pearl divers, by claſping them in its fins, as they riſe from the bottom, and they were told that the divers now always arm themſelves with a ſharp knife, with which, when they are entangled, they diſengage themſelves from the fiſh's embraces by ſticking it into its belly.

While the ſhip lay at anchor, the commodore went in a boat, attended by ſome of his officers to examine a bay which lay to the northward, and afterwards ranged along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland. Wherever they landed in the courſe of this expedition, they generally found great plenty of excellent water, and a very rich ſoil. On the north-eaſt point of the iſland they diſcovered a natural caſcade, which ſeemed to ſurpaſs every thing of this kind that had ever been produced by human art or induſtry. It was a river of tranſparent water about forty yards wide, which rolled down a declivity of near 150 in length, the channel down which it flowed was entirely compoſed of rock, both its ſides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks, by which the courſe of the water was frequently interrupted; for in ſome parts it ran ſloping with a rapid but uniform motion, while in others it rolled over the ledges of rocks and fell with a perpendicular deſcent. All the neighbourhood of this ſtream was a fine wood, and even the huge maſſes of rock which over-hung the water, and by their various projections formed the inequalities of the channel, was covered with lofty foreſt trees. While the commodore, with thoſe who accompanied him, were attentively remarking

the different blendings of the water, the rocks and the woods, there appeared, as if to heighten the beauty of the proſpect, a prodigious flight of mackaws, which hovering over this ſpot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, afforded a moſt brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the ſun on their variegated plumage.

In this expedition they diſcovered no inhabitants, but ſaw many huts upon the ſhore, and great heaps of ſhells of fine mother of pearl in different places, that were left by the pearl fiſhers from Panama, who often frequent this place in the ſummer ſeaſon; for the pearl oyſters, which are every where to be found in the bay of Panama, are ſo numerous at Quibo, that by advancing a very little way into the ſea, a perſon may ſtoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are uſually very large, and ſome of the officers opened them out of curioſity, in order to taſte them, but found them very tough and unpalatable. Thoſe oyſters that produce the moſt and the largeſt pearls are found at a conſiderable depth, for though what are taken by wading near the ſhore are off the ſame ſpecies, yet the pearls contained in them are few in number and very ſmall. It is alſo ſaid that the pearl partakes, in ſome degree, of the quality of the bottom on which the oyſter is lodged; ſo that if there be a muddy bottom, it renders the pearl dark and diſcoloured.

The buſineſs of taking up oyſters from great depths for the ſake of their pearls, is performed by negroe ſlaves of which the inhabitants of Panama and the neighbouring coaſt formerly kept great numbers. Theſe are ſaid not to be eſteemed complete divers, till they have learned to protract their ſtay ſo long under the water, that the blood guſhes out at their mouth, noſe, and ears; but when this has once happened, it is ſaid they dive for the future with much greater eaſe than before.

They have no apprehenſion that any ill conſequence can attend this violence offered to nature, ſince the bleeding generally ſtops of itſelf, and there is no danger of their ever being ſubject to it a ſecond time.

Though the pearl oyſter was unfit for food, yet that diſappointment was ſufficiently recompenſed by the turtle which the ſea furniſhes at this iſland in the greateſt plenty and perfection. There are uſually reckoned four ſpecies of turtle, the loggerhead, the trunk-turtle, the haukſbill, and the green turtle. The two firſt are rank and unwholeſome; the haukſbill, which produces the tortoiſeſhell, is better than the other two, though but indifferent food; but the green turtle was generally eſteemed by the officers and ſailors, as affording the moſt delicious repaſt, and they had the moſt convincing proofs of its being wholeſome, from their feeding upon it near four months without feeling any ill effects from this new food. At this iſland they caught as many as they pleaſed, without the leaſt difficulty; for as they are an amphibious animal, they go on ſhore to lay their eggs, which they uſually depoſit in a large hole in the ſand, juſt above high water mark, and after having covered them, leave them to be hatched by the heat of the ſun; they therefore ordered ſeveral men to go upon the beach, who had nothing more to do than to turn them upon their backs, which prevented the turtle from getting away, after which they brought them off at leiſure; by this means they were plentifully ſupplied while they ſtaid on the iſland, and carried a number of them to ſea, which was almoſt a conſtant ſupply for the whole crew of freſh and palatable proviſions; for they generally weighed about 200 pounds weight each; thoſe they took with them laſted till they had a freſh ſupply on the coaſt of Mexico, where they often ſaw great numbers of them in the heat

of the day faſt aſleep, and floating on the ſurface of the water. Upon diſcovering them, they generally ſent out a boat, in which was an expert diver, who, when the boat came within a few yards of the turtle plunged into the water, and ariſing cloſe by the tail, ſeized the ſhell, and preſſing down the hinder parts, awakened the turtle, who ſtriking with its feet, ſupported by that motion both itſelf and the diver, till the boat came and took them both in. By which management they never wanted turtle for the ſucceeding four months in which they continued at ſea, yet in ſeven months from their leaving Juan Fernandez to their anchoring in the harbour of Chequetan, they buried no more in the whole ſquadron than two men, which is an undoubted proof that the turtle, on which they fed for the laſt four months of that time, is at leaſt an innocent, if not a ſalutary food.

It is very remarkable, that notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of other proviſions, on ſome part of the coaſt of the South Sea, a kind of food ſo very palatable, ſalubrious and plentiful as the turtle, ſhould be eſteemed by the Spaniards as very unwholeſome, and to be little leſs than poiſonous. They had ſome Indian and negroe ſlaves on board, whom they kept to aſſiſt in navigating the ſhips, and theſe being poſſeſſed of the prejudices of the country they came from, were aſtoniſhed to ſee them feed on turtle, being fully perſuaded that it would prove mortal: but finding that none of them died, nor were the leaſt diſordered by continuing this diet, they ventured to taſte it, and at laſt, with great reluctance, eat it, though very ſparingly, but the reliſh improving upon them by degrees, they at laſt grew ſo fond of it, as to prefer it to every other kind of food, and often congratulated each other on the luxurious repaſts it would always be in their power to procure, when they ſhould return back to their own country.

Having left the iſland on the 9th of December in the morning, after having ſtaid there only three days, they again put to ſea in order to look for the Glouceſter, who had ſeparated from them on their firſt arrival, and the next day diſcovered a ſmall ſail, to which they gave chace, and coming up with her took her. She was a bark from Panama, named the Jeſu Nazareno, and had nothing on board but a ton of rock ſalt, ſome oakum, and between thirty and forty pounds in ſpecie. On the 12th of December they came up with the Glouceſter, who had ſprung her fore-top-maſt, and having ſcuttled and ſunk the Jeſu Nazareno, the commodore delivered freſh inſtructions to the captains of the men of war and commanders of the prizes, appointing the rendezvouſes they were to make, and the courſes they were to ſteer in caſe of a ſeparation, in which they were directed to uſe all poſſible diſpatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco. Theſe orders being diſtributed to the ſhips, they had little doubt of ſoon arriving at their intended ſtation, as they intended to fall in with the regular trade wind; but to their great vexation, they were baffled for near a month by tempeſtuous weather, dead calms, and heavy rains, and at length began to deſpair of ſucceeding in the great purpoſe they had in view, that of intercepting the Manilla galleon, which produced a general dejection; but at length their deſpondency was ſomewhat alleviated by a favourable change of the wind, upon which the Centurion took the Carmelo in tow, as the Glouceſter did the Carmin, and this wind, which blew from the north-eaſt, the next day continued ſo briſk and ſteady, that they had no doubt of its being the true trade wind. This revived their hopes, for though the uſual time of the galleon's arrival at Acapulco was already elapſed, they were ſo unreaſonable as to

flatter themſelves that ſome accidental delay might have lengthened her paſſage.

On the 26th of January, being to the northward of Acapulco, they tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward, with a view of making the land, which they expected to fall in with on the 28th; but though the weather was then perfectly clear, they could not diſcern it. About ten at night the Centurion diſcovered a light on the larboard bow, and the Tryal's Prize, who was about a mile a-head, made a ſignal for ſeeing a ſail. As nobody on board doubted but what they ſaw was a ſhip's light, they were all animated with a firm perſuaſion that it was the Manilla galleon; and what added to their alacrity, was their expectation of meeting with two of them inſtead of one; for they took it for granted, that the light in view was carried on the top of one ſhip, for a direction to her conſort. The Centurion therefore caſt off the Carmelo, and preſſed forward with all her canvaſs, making a ſignal for the Glouceſter to do the ſame, and thus they chaſed the light, under the expectation of engaging within half an hour. Sometimes imagining the chace to be about a mile diſtant, and at others, within reach of their guns; for ſome on board poſitively aſſerted, that they could plainly diſcern her ſails. The commodore himſelf was ſo fully perſuaded that he ſhould ſoon come up with her, that he ſent for his firſt lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and ordered him to ſee all the great guns loaded with two round ſhot for the firſt broadſide, and after that with one round ſhot and one grape, and ſtrictly charged him not to ſuffer a gun to be fired till he ſhould give orders, which he told the lieutenant would not be till they arrived within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy. In this conſtant and eager expectation they continued all night, conſtantly preſuming that another quarter

of an hour would bring them up with the Manilla ſhip, whoſe wealth, and that of her ſuppoſed conſort, they now eſtimated by round millions; but, alas! at day-break they diſcovered, to their great diſappointment, that all this buſtle and expectation was occaſioned by a fire upon a mountain, which continued burning for ſeveral days afterwards, and was probably no more than a tract of ſtubble or heath ſet on fire, for the purpoſe of vegetation.

On the 12th of February the commodore diſpatched the barge in ſearch of the harbour of Acapulco, and to diſcover whether the galleon was arrived, which returned on the 19th, when the officers informed the commodore, that they had diſcovered the harbour, and that having got within the iſland that lies at the mouth of it, they were in great ſuſpenſe what to do; but while they were ignorant of their being in the very place they ſought for, they diſcerned a ſmall light near the ſurface of the water, on which plying their paddles, and moving towards it as ſilently as poſſible, they found it to be a fiſhing canoe, which they ſurpriſed with three negroes who belonged to it, and who at firſt attempted to jump overboard, but they were prevented by preſenting a piece at them, on which they ſubmitted, and were taken into the barge; the canoe was turned adrift againſt the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be daſhed to pieces by the fury of the ſea, which was done to deceive thoſe who might perhaps be ſent in ſearch of the canoe, who, on ſeeing only its remains, would immediately conclude that the people on board had been drowned.

The commodore having now theſe three negroes in his poſſeſſion, was ſoon ſatisfied about the moſt material points on which he had been long in ſuſpence. They told him, that the galleon arrived at Acapulco on the 9th of January, old ſtile, but

revived his hopes by adding, that ſhe had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and proviſions in order to return, and that the viceroy of Mexico had by proclamation fixed her departure from Acapulco on the 14th of March, new ſtile. This laſt news gave great joy to the officers and ſailors, who had no doubt of her falling into their hands, and it would be of much greater advantage to ſeize her on her return, than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the ſpecie for which ſhe had ſold her cargo, and which ſhe would now have on board, would be much more valuable than the cargo itſelf, great part of which would be of no uſe to the Engliſh.

Being now ſatisfied that the day was fixed for the departure of the galleon from Acapulco, they waited with the utmoſt impatience for that important moment. As they received this intelligence by the return of the barge on the 19th of February, and as the galleon was not to ſail till the 3d of March, the commodore, in order to prevent his being ſeen from the ſhore, reſolved to continue the greateſt part of the intermediate time, on his preſent ſtation to the weſtward of Acapulco, and during this interval the ſailors were employed in ſcrubbing and cleanſing the ſhips bottoms, and in bringing them into the moſt advantageous trim.

On the 3d of March, the time for the departure of the galleon drawing nigh, the commodore had all the ſhips ranged in a circular line, each ſhip being three leagues diſtant from the next, ſo that the Carmelo and the Carmin, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues removed from each other; and as the galleon might doubtleſs be diſcerned at ſix leagues diſtant from either extremity, the whole ſweep of the ſquadron, within which nothing could paſs undiſcovered, was twenty-four leagues in extent, and yet they were ſo connected

by ſignals, as to be eaſily and ſpeedily informed of what was ſeen in any part of the line. To prevent even the poſſibility of the galleon's eſcaping in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Glouceſter were both manned and ſent in ſhore, and commanded to lie at four or five leagues diſtance from the entrance of the port, where, upon account of their ſmallneſs, it would be impoſſible to diſcover them; but in the night they were to ſtand nearer to the harbour's mouth, and as the morning approached, to return back to their ſtation for the day. When the cutters ſhould diſcern the Manilla ſhip, one of them was to return to the ſquadron to make a ſignal whither the galleon ſtood to the eaſtward or the weſtward, while the other was to follow the galleon at a diſtance; and if it grew dark to direct the ſquadron in their chace by ſhewing falſe fires.

In ſhort, having taken all poſſible methods to prevent the Manilla ſhip from eſcaping, they waited with the utmoſt impatience for the 3d of March; and that day no ſooner began to dawn, than every perſon on board had his eyes fixed towards Acapulco, and neither the duties of the men on board, nor the calls of hunger could eaſily divert them from it; but, to their extreme vexation, both that day and the ſucceeding night paſſed over without any news of the galleon. They, however, flattered themſelves, that ſome unforeſeen accident had occaſioned her departure to be deferred for a few days; which was not improbable, as it was uſual for the viceroy to defer the time of her ſailing on the petition of the merchants of Mexico. Thus they kept up their hopes and vigilance; and as the 7th of March was the beginning of paſſion week, which is ſo ſtrictly obſerved by the Spaniards that no ſhip is permitted to ſtir out of port, they deferred their expectations till the week following, when their hopes became as ſanguine as ever; but

in a week's time their eagerneſs greatly abated, a general dejection and deſpondency took place in its room, and the people began to be perſuaded that the enemy had diſcovered their being on the coaſt. Indeed this opinion was but too juſt; for they afterwards learned, that the barge had been ſeen from the ſhore, when ſhe had been ſent upon the diſcovery of the port of Acapulco; and as no embarkations but canoes, ever frequented that coaſt, the Spaniards conſidered it as a ſufficient proof that the Engliſh ſquadron was not far diſtant, and therefore ſtopped the galleons till the ſucceeding year.

The commodore now formed a plan for the taking of Acapulco; but the town was too well defended to be taken by an open attack, and therefore he propoſed to ſet ſail in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night; and having boldly entered the harbour's mouth, he intended to have put 200 men on ſhore in his boats, who were immediately to attempt the fort, while he with his ſhips were employed in firing upon the town and the other batteries. But when he began to inquire into ſuch circumſtances as were neceſſary to be conſidered, in order to conduct the execution of this plan, he found it was attended with inſuperable difficulty, for nearer in ſhore there was always a dead calm for the greateſt part of the night, and towards morning, when the gales ſprung up, it conſtantly blew off the land, which rendered his arrival at Acapulco before daylight abſolutely impoſſible.

However, as there was yet no certain intelligence of their departure being deferred till the next year, the commodore thought it prudent to continue cruizing on his preſent ſtation, as long as the neceſſary attention to his ſtores of wood and water, and to the proper ſeaſon for his paſſage to China, would give him leave. However, the

cutters returning on the 24th of March, and all the ſhips being joined, the commodore made a ſignal to ſpeak with their commanders, when enquiry being made into the ſtock of freſh water remaining on board the ſquadron, it was found neceſſary to quit the ſtation in order to ſecure a freſh ſupply, and the harbour of Seguataneio, or Chequetan, being the neareſt, it was reſolved to ſail thither; but leſt the galleon, on having certain intelligence of their being at Chequetan, ſhould ſlip out to ſea, the Centurion's cutter, under the command of Mr. Hughes, the lieutenant of the Tryal's Prize, was ordered to cruize twenty-four days off the port of Acapulco, that if the galleon ſhould ſail in that interval they might be ſpeedily informed of it.

The ſquadron now plied to the weſt to gain their intended port, but being often interrupted by ſtorms and adverſe currents, the men were employed in theſe intervals in taking the moſt valuable part of the cargoes out of the Carmelo and Carmin prizes, which the commodore reſolved to deſtroy as ſoon as they were cleared. On the 1ſt of April they were advanced ſo far towards Seguataneio, that the commodore thought proper to ſend out two boats to diſcover the watering-place, when they being gone ſome days, their water was ſo ſhort, that had they not met with a daily ſupply of turtle, which prevented their being confined to ſalt proviſions, they muſt have ſuffered extremely in ſo warm a climate; but their uneaſineſs was happily ended by the boats returning on the 5th of April, when they had not ten days water on board; the whole ſquadron having, about ſeven miles to the weſt of the rocks of Seguataneio, met with a place fit for their purpoſe, which appeared to be the port of Chequetan, and theſe boats being ſent out again the next day to ſound the harbour and its entrance, returned with the report

that it was free from danger, on which the ſquadron immediately ſtood for it, and the Centurion and Glouceſter caſt anchor there the ſame evening.

The port of Chequetan is a place of conſiderable conſequence, ſince it is the only ſecure harbour, except Acapulco, in a vaſt extent of coaſt. It lies in 17°. 36'. north latitude, and is about thirty leagues to the weſtward of Acapulco, from which laſt town there is a bank of ſand, which extends eighteen leagues to the weſtward, againſt which the ſea breaks ſo violently, that it is impoſſible to land in any part of it with boats, yet the ground is ſo clean, that in the fair ſeaſon, ſhips may anchor at the diſtance of a mile or two from the ſhore. The land which joins to this beach is generally low, planted with a great number of trees, and full of villages, and on the top of ſeveral ſmall eminences there are ſeveral watch-towers. The part which is cultivated extends ſome leagues back into the country, where it ſeems to be bounded by a chain of mountains, which on either ſide of Acapulco ſtretch to a conſiderable diſtance, and, indeed, the whole face of the country affords a very agreeable proſpect; but it is remarkable that in all this extent, which appears the moſt populous and beſt planted of the whole coaſt, there are to be ſeen neither boats nor canoes either for coaſting, fiſhing, or for pleaſure; which is probably occaſioned by all kinds of ſmall craft being prohibited by the government to prevent ſmuggling. There is no other method of finding this harbour at a conſiderable diſtance from the coaſt, than that of making it by the latitude, for there are ſo many ranges of mountains within land, riſing one upon the back of the other, that no drawings of the appearance of the coaſt can be in the leaſt depended upon when off at ſea, for every trifling change of diſtance, or variation of poſition, brings new mountains in view, and produces different proſpects.

As the country appeared to be ſo well peopled and cultivated, the commodore was in hopes of eaſily procuring ſome freſh proviſions and other refreſhments, and therefore the morning after he came to an anchor, ordered a party of forty men well armed, to march into the country to diſcover ſome town or village, and to ſettle a correſpondence with the inhabitants; for it was not doubted, that if this intercourſe was but once begun, he ſhould allure them to bring whatever fruits or freſh proviſions were in their power. Theſe men were directed to behave with the greateſt circumſpection, and to ſhew as little appearance of any thing like hoſtility as poſſible. But this attempt to open an amicable traffic with the inhabitants, proved ineffectual; for towards the evening, this party returned greatly fatigued, by their unuſual exerciſe, and ſome of them ſo far ſpent, that they had fainted on the road, and were obliged to be brought back upon the ſhoulders of their companions. When they had proceeded near five miles from the harbour, the road divided between the mountains into two branches, one of which turned to the eaſt, and the other to the weſt, when agreeing to continue their march along the eaſtern road, it led them into a large plain, on one ſide of which they diſcovered a centinel on horſeback, with a piſtol in his hand. When they firſt ſaw him, they ſuppoſed he was aſleep, for his horſe ſtarted at the glittering of their arms, and ſuddenly turning round, ran off with his maſter, who though he was very near being unhorſed, recovered his ſeat, and eſcaped with only the loſs of his hat and his piſtol, which he dropped on the ground. The party purſued him in hopes of diſcovering the village, or habitation to which he ſhould retreat; but after fatiguing themſelves in vain, ſoon loſt ſight of him.

Being unwilling to return without making ſome diſcovery, they followed the track they were in, till the heat of the day increaſing, and finding no water to quench their thirſt, they reſolved to return back: however, that no means might be left untried of procuring ſome intercourſe with the people, the officers ſtuck up ſeveral poles in the road, to which were affixed declarations, written in Spaniſh, in order to encourage the inhabitants to come to the harbour to traffic with the ſquadron, and filled with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a kind reception, and faithful payment for all the proviſions they brought. But this meaſure, however prudent, was ineffectual, for none of the people came down to the ſhips during their continuance at the port of Chequetan.

Upon this occaſion, it is proper to obſerve, in order to give ſome idea of the timidity of the inhabitants of this country, that ſome time after the commodore's arrival at Chequetan, he ſent lieutenant Brett, with two boats under his command, to examine the coaſt to the eaſtward, and particularly to make obſervations on the bay and watering-place of Petaplan. Mr. Brett was preparing to land with one of the boats towards the hill of Petaplan, when accidentally caſting his eyes acroſs the bay, he obſerved on the oppoſite ſtrand three ſmall ſquadrons of horſe, which ſeemed to advance towards the place where he propoſed to land. Upon which, though he had but ſixteen men with him, he boldly put off the boat, and ſtood over the bay, in order to face them, and was ſoon near enough to perceive that they were mounted on good horſes, and armed with carbines and lances. On ſeeing him thus advance, they formed upon the beach, fired ſeveral diſtant ſhot at him as he drew near, and ſeemed determined to diſpute his landing, till at laſt the boat coming within a reaſonable diſtance from the moſt advanced ſquadron,

Mr. Brett ordered his men to fire, when this reſolute cavalry immediately fled with great confuſion, through a ſmall opening in the wood. In this haſty flight, one of their horſes falling down, threw his rider, but both the man and horſe were ſoon up again, and followed the reſt. The two other ſquadrons were in the mean time calm ſpectators of the rout of their comrades, for having halted on Mr. Brett's firſt approach, they continued drawn up at a great diſtance behind, out of the reach of the ſhot. Had theſe men concealed themſelves till the boat's crew were landed, it is ſcarcely poſſible but they muſt all have fallen into their hands, as the Spaniards amounted to near 200, and the whole number with Mr. Brett was only ſixteen.

The commodore finding his attempt to prevail on the people to furniſh the ſquadron with neceſſaries unſucceſsful, deſiſted from any other endeavours of that kind, and the people were contented with what they could procure for themſelves in the neighbourhood of the port, where they caught breams, cavallies, ſoals, mullets, ſiddle-fiſh, ſea-eggs, and lobſters, and in this place alone they met with that remarkable fiſh called the torpedo, which is a flat fiſh, like a thorn-back, and ſo nearly reſembles the fiddle-fiſh, that it can be only diſtinguiſhed from it by a brown circular ſpot, of the ſize of a crown piece near the centre of its back. The torpedo produces very ſurpriſing effects on the human frame, for whoever handles or even ſets his foot upon it, is immediately ſeized with a numbneſs over his whole body, but more particularly in that limb which is in immediate contact with it. Mr. Walter obſerves, that he himſelf had a conſiderable degree of numbneſs conveyed to his right arm, by touching it for a ſhort time with a walking cane, and he makes no doubt but that he ſhould have been much more ſenſibly affected, had

not the fiſh been almoſt at the point of death when he made the experiment; ſince it is obſervable, that this influence acts with moſt vigour upon the fiſh's being firſt taken out of the water, and entirely ceaſes as ſoon as it is dead, when it may be handled, or even eaten without the leaſt inconvenience. The numbneſs of Mr. Walter's arm, upon this occaſion, diminiſhed gradually, ſo that he had ſome remains of it till the next day.

The principal animals they met with on ſhore were guanoes, with which the country abounds, and by ſome are reckoned delicious food. They ſaw no other beaſts of prey but alligators, none of which were very large. They were however convinced that there were many tygers in the woods, though none of them came in ſight, for every morning the prints of their feet were very viſible on the beach near the watering-place, but they apprehended no danger from them, ſince they are not near ſo fierce as the African or Aſiatic tygers, and are ſeldom if ever known to attack mankind. They had plenty of birds, and particularly pheaſants of various kinds, ſome of which were remarkably large, but they were all dry and taſteleſs food. They frequently killed parrots for food, and ſaw a great variety of ſmall birds.

They found great ſcarcity of fruits and vegetable refreſhments, and theſe were not of the beſt kinds. It is true there were a few buſhes ſcattered about the woods which ſupplied the ſquadron with limes, but the men could ſcarcely procure enough for their preſent uſe. There was alſo a ſmall plum of an agreeable acid, which in Jamaica is called the hog-plum, and another fruit called a papah, and theſe were the only fruits to be found in the woods; nor was there any other vegetable worth notice, except brook-lime, which grows near the freſh-water banks in great quantities, though it was extremely bitter and unpalatable, yet as it

was eſteemed an antiſcorbutic, they frequently fed upon it.

During their ſtay at this place, an incident happened, which proved the means of convincing their friends in England of their ſafety. From the harbour of Chequetan there was but one narrow path, which led through the woods into the country, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach them, and therefore to prevent their being diſturbed by any ſudden attack of the enemy's horſe, and to hinder the people from ſtraggling ſingly into the country, where they might be ſurprized by the Spaniards, the commodore cauſed ſeveral large trees to be felled, and laid one upon another acroſs the path, at ſome diſtance beyond the ſpring-head; and at this barricadoe, they conſtantly kept a guard, which had orders to let no perſon whatſoever paſs beyond their poſt. But notwithſtanding the precaution, Lewis Leger, the commodore's cook, was miſſing, and he being a Frenchman, and under the ſuſpicion of being a papiſt, it was at firſt concluded that he had deſerted, with a view of betraying all he knew to the enemy, though by the event, this was found to be an ill-grounded ſurmiſe; for he had been taken by ſome Indians, who had carried him priſoner to Acapulco, whence he was ſent to Mexico, and thence to Vera Cruz, where he was put on board a veſſel bound for Old Spain. But this veſſel being by ſome accident obliged to put into Liſbon, Leger eſcaped on ſhore, and was ſent from thence by the Britiſh conſul to England, where he brought the firſt authentic account of the commodore's ſafety and of his principal tranſactions in the South-Sea.

The account he gave of his ſeizure was, that he had rambled into the woods at ſome diſtance from the barricadoe, where he had at firſt attempted to paſs, but had been ſtopped, and threatened

to be puniſhed. That his principal view was to gather a quantity of limes for his maſter's ſtore; but while he was thus employed, he was ſuddenly ſurprized by four Indians who ſtripped him naked, and in that condition conducted him to Acapulco, where he was expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, which then ſhone with its greateſt violence; that his treatment in priſon at Mexico was very ſevere, and that all the time of his captivity, the Spaniards gave him a continual proof of the hatred they bear to all who endeavour to diſturb them on the coaſts of the South-Sea.

It muſt here be obſerved, that though the enemy never appeared in view, while the ſquadron lay at anchor in the harbour, yet thoſe on board could eaſily perceive that large parties of them were encamped in the woods: for they could ſee their ſmokes; and juſt before they left the place, they ſeemed by the increaſe of their fires, to have had a large reinforcement.

They here completed the unloading of the Carmelo and Carmin, out of which they only took the indigo, cocoa, and cochineal, with ſome iron for ballaſt, though they did not amount to a tenth of their cargoes, and the unloading of theſe prizes, together with the wooding and watering being completed, the Tryal's Prize, with the Carmelo and Carmin were towed on ſhore, and ſcuttled on the 27th of April, and a quantity of combuſtible materials was diſtributed in their upper works: the next morning the Centurion and Glouceſter weighed anchor, when having reached the offing, one of the boats was diſpatched back to ſet fire to the prizes, which was accordingly executed.

This being done a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the midſt of the harbour, in which was a bottle well corked, containing a letter to Mr. Hughes, who commanded the cutter, which had been ordered to cruize before the port of Acapulco

when the ſquadron quitted that ſtation. This letter directed Mr. Hughes to return to his former ſtation, where he would find Mr. Anſon, who reſolved to cruize for him there a certain number of days, after which it was added, that the commodore would return to the ſouthward to join the reſt of the ſquadron. Theſe laſt words were inſerted to deceive the Spaniards in caſe they got the canoe in their poſſeſſion, as they afterwards learned that they did, but could not impoſe on Mr. Hughes, who was ſenſible that the commodore had no other ſquadron to join, nor the leaſt intention of ſteering back to Peru.

As they had now no farther views in the American ſeas, it was no ſmall mortification to them to be detained by the abſence of the cutter, the time of whoſe return was now conſiderably elapſed, and this made it neceſſary for them to ſail towards Acapulco in ſearch of her, and, indeed, it was ſuſpected that ſhe had been diſcovered from the ſhore, and that the governor of Acapulco had ſent out a ſufficient force to ſeize her, which was no very difficult enterprize, as ſhe carried but ſix hands. This however, being only conjecture, the commodore ſtood along the coaſt to the eaſtward in ſearch of her, and to prevent her paſſing by in the dark brought-to every night. The Glouceſter, who was ſtationed a league nearer the ſhore than the Centurion, carried a light, which if the cutter kept along ſhore, ſhe would not fail of perceiving it, and as a further ſecurity, both the Centurion and Glouceſter alternately ſhewed two falſe fires every half hour.

Being at length advanced within three leagues of Acapulco, without ſeeing the cutter, they gave her over for loſt, which beſides their compaſſion for their ſhip-mates on account of what they might have ſuffered, was a misfortune which greatly concerned them on account of their ſcarcity of

hands, ſince the cutter's crew conſiſted of ſix men and a lieutenant, who were picked out for the ſervice, and were ſkillful ſeamen, and every one of them of tried reſolution. However as it was generally believed that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the commodore as he had many Spaniſh and Indian priſoners and ſick negroes in his poſſeſſion, wrote a letter the ſame day to the governor of that town to inform him, that he would releaſe them all, provided the governor would only return the cutter's crew. This letter was carried by a Spaniſh officer, who was furniſhed with a launch belonging to one of the prizes, and a crew of ſix other priſoners, who gave their parole for their return. The Spaniſh officer alſo carried with him a petition ſigned by all the other priſoners, beſeeching the governor to comply with the terms propoſed for their liberty.

From the number of the priſoners, and the quality of ſome of them, it was not doubted that the governor would readily agree to Mr. Anſon's propoſal; and therefore they kept near the land in order to receive an anſwer at the limited time, but both on that day and the day following, they were driven ſo far out to ſea that they could not expect any anſwer to reach them, and the fourth day after the propoſal was ſent, they were fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco, but the wind being favourable they preſſed forward with all their ſail, and hoped to get within the land that afternoon.

While they where thus ſtanding, the ſentinel from the maſt-head called out that he ſaw a boat under ſail at a conſiderable diſtance to the ſouth-eaſt. This they did not doubt contained the governor's anſwer to the commodore's meſſage, and inſtantly edged towards her; but on their nearer approach they found, to their unſpeakable joy, that it was their own cutter. While at a diſtance they imagined that ſhe had been diſcharged by the

governor out of the port of Acapulco, but when ſhe drew nearer, the pale and meagre countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble tone of their voices convinced every one that they had endured much greater hardſhips than they could have ſuffered, even from the ſeverities of a Spaniſh priſon. They were obliged to be helped into the ſhip, and to be inſtantly put to bed, but by the reſt and nouriſhing diet with which they were plentifully ſupplied from the commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour.

Theſe poor men had kept the ſea the whole time of their abſence, which was above ſix weeks. When they had finiſhed their cruize before Acapulco, they began to ply to the weſtward in order to join the ſquadron, but a ſtrong adverſe current forced them down the coaſt to the eaſtward, and at length their water being all expended, they were obliged to ſearch the coaſt farther to the eaſtward in queſt of a convenient landing-place, in order to get a freſh ſupply. But in this diſtreſs they ran upwards of eighty leagues to the leeward, but every where found ſo large a ſurf that there was not the leaſt poſſibility of their landing. Some days they paſſed in this dreadful ſituation, during which they had no other means of allaying their thirſt, than catching turtle, and ſucking their blood, till at laſt the heat of the climate rendering their ſufferings inſupportable, they abandoned themſelves to deſpair, from the firm belief that they ſhould periſh by the moſt terrible of all deaths; but in this dreadful exigence, Providence ſent them a moſt unexpected relief, for there fell ſo heavy a rain, that on ſpreading their ſails horizontally, and putting bullets in the centres of them, to draw them to a point, they caught as much water as filled all their caſks, and immediately upon this happy ſupply, being favoured by a ſtrong current,

they ſtood to the weſtward in queſt of the commodore, and joined the Centurion in leſs than fifty-ſix hours, after an abſence of forty-three days.

Mr. Anſon now reſolved not to diſappoint the hopes of the priſoners; but to reſtore them to the liberty he had promiſed them, and therefore, they were all immediately embarked in two launches which had belonged to the prizes, and leſt the wind ſhould prove unfavourable, they were allowed a ſtock of water and proviſions. Thoſe releaſed were fifty-ſeven in number, the greateſt part of them being Spaniards, and the reſt Indians and ſick negroes; but as the crews were very weak, Mr. Anſon kept the ſtouteſt of the negroes, a few Indians, and the Mulattoes. They afterwards learned that the two launches arrived ſafe at Acapulco, where all the priſoners extolled the humanity with which they had been treated. But before their arrival, the governor it ſeems had returned an obliging anſwer to the commodore's letter, and at the ſame time ſent out two boats laden with the choiceſt refreſhments and proviſions that could be procured at Acapulco: But the boats not finding the Engliſh ſhips were at length obliged to return, after meeting with a ſtorm, in which they were forced to throw all their proviſions overboard.

Their ſending away the priſoners was the laſt tranſaction on the American coaſt, for immediately on their parting with them, the Centurion and Glouceſter made ſail to the ſouth-weſt with a view of meeting with a north-eaſt trade wind, which the accounts of former writers had taught them to expect at the diſtance of 70 or 80 leagues from the land, and on the 6th of May, they for the laſt time loſt ſight of the mountains of Mexico, with the hopes of reaching the eaſtermoſt iſles of Aſia in two months. Notwithſtanding all their endeavours to come in with the trade winds by getting into the latitude of thirteen or fourteen

degrees north, where the Pacific Ocean is moſt uſually croſſed, all their efforts proved unſucceſsful, ſo that it was ſeven weeks from their leaving the coaſt till they got into the true trade wind. By this time both ſhips became extremely crazy, and ſoon after a ſpring was diſcovered in the foremaſt of the Centurion, and no ſooner was it ſecured by the carpenter's fiſhing it, than the Glouceſter made a ſignal of diſtreſs, and informed the commodore that ſhe had ſo dangerous a ſpring in the main-maſt, that ſhe could not carry any ſail upon it, and that being exceſſively rotten, it was found neceſſary to cut part of it away. Theſe accidents occaſioning delay, and the ſcurvy beginning to make freſh havock amongſt the people, they began to be in the greateſt anxiety about their future ſafety, and to preſent before their eyes the melancholy proſpect either of dying with the ſcurvy, or of periſhing with the ſhip for want of hands to navigate her. They had indeed been willing to believe that in this warm climate, ſo different from that they had felt in paſſing round Cape Horn, the violence of this diſeaſe and its fatality might in ſome degree be mitigated. It had been generally preſumed that ſupplies of water and freſh proviſions effectually prevented this diſtemper, and that keeping the ſhips clean and airy between decks, were even alone ſufficient to prevent the ſcurvy, or to mitigate its virulence. But though they had a conſiderable ſtock of freſh proviſions aboard, which were the hogs and fowls taken at Payta, though they almoſt daily caught abundance of dolphins, albicores, and bonitos, and the unſettled ſeaſon that deprived them of the benefit of the trade wind proved ſo rainy, that they were enabled to fill their water-caſks as faſt as they emptied, and each man had five pints of water conſtantly allowed him every day; though freſh proviſions were diſtributed amongſt the ſick, and the whole crew often fed

upon fiſh, and though during the latter part of the run they kept all their ports open, and took uncommon pains in ſweetening the ſhips, yet nothing could ſtop the progreſs or abate the malignity of the diſeaſe.

At length, upon their reaching the trade wind, which ſettled between the north and eaſt, it ſeldom blew with ſuch ſtrength but that the Centurion might have carried all her ſmall ſails abroad without the leaſt danger, ſo that ſhe might have run down the longitude apace, but the Glouceſter by loſing the beſt part of her main-maſt, ſailed ſo very heavily, that the Centurion loſt little leſs than a month by attending upon her, and at length being entirely diſabled by a ſtorm, the commodore, after having her examined, ſent an order to Captain Mitchel to put his people on board the Centurion, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, which was immediately performed, and it was with the greateſt difficulty that the prize-money, which the Glouceſter had taken in the South-Sea, was ſecured and ſent on board the Centurion; but the prize-goods in the Glouceſter, which amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds value, were entirely loſt, nor could any more proviſions be got out, than five caſks of flour, three of which were ſpoiled by the ſalt water. When this was performed, her crew were ſo greatly reduced by the ſcurvy, that ſhe had only ſeventy-ſeven men, eighteen boys, and two priſoners alive, out of which number there were no more than ſixteen men and eleven boys able to keep the deck, and ſeveral of theſe were very ill. The Glouceſter was cleared of every thing that was propoſed to be removed on the 15th of Auguſt, and then ſet on fire; but ſhe continued burning the whole night, ſo that though her guns fired ſucceſſively as the flames reached them, yet ſhe did not blow up till ſix in the morning, when the Centurion was about four leagues diſtant. The report ſhe made was but

ſmall, though the blaſt produced a very black pillar of ſmoke, which ſhot up to a very conſiderable height in the air.

The Centurion being now freed from the delays occaſioned by the frequent diſaſters which happened to the Glouceſter, might have been expected to have proceeded much briſker than ſhe had hitherto done; but the people on board that ſhip had ſtill greater diſtreſſes to ſtruggle with; for the ſtorm which had proved ſo fatal to that veſſel, had driven them to the northward of their intended courſe, and the current ſetting the ſame way after the weather had abated, had forced them a degree or two farther, ſo that they were near four degrees to the north of the parallel they had propoſed to keep, in order to reach the iſland of Guam, and as they were ignorant how near they were to the meridian of the Ladrones, they apprehended that they might be driven to the leeward of them by the current without perceiving them. In which caſe, the only land they could make, would be ſome of the eaſtern parts of Aſia, where the weſtern monſoon, being in its full force, it would be impoſſible for them to get in, and indeed they were in ſuch a languiſhing condition, that they could expect nothing but their being deſtroyed by the ſcurvy long before they could complete ſo extenſive a navigation. For now no day paſſed in which they did not bury eight or ten, and ſometimes twelve of their men, and thoſe who had ſtill continued healthy began to ſicken apace. To add to their diſtreſs, they had a very conſiderable leak, which, however, was at laſt diſcovered, and though it was found impoſſible to ſtop it, it was at length reduced.

They had conſidered the calm during which the currents had driven them to the north, as a dreadful misfortune; but a gale ſpringing up from the ſouth-weſt, rendered their condition ſtill worſe, as

it was directly oppoſite to the courſe they deſired to ſteer. However, on the 22d of Auguſt, they had the ſatisfaction to find that the current was ſhifted and ſet them to the ſouthward, and the next morning at day-break, they were cheered with the ſight of two iſlands to the weſt. As they had till then been ſeized with an univerſal dejection, from their almoſt deſpairing of ever again ſeeing land, this diſcovery raiſed their drooping ſpirits, and gave them inexpreſſible joy. The neareſt of theſe iſlands was Anatacan, which appeared to be full fifteen leagues diſtance, and ſeemed to be high land, the other was the iſland of Serigan, which had the appearance of a rock. They were very impatient to get in with the neareſt iſland, where they hoped to find anchoring ground, and refreſhment for their ſick; but the wind proving variable they advanced but ſlowly. However, the next day at noon, they were within four miles of Anatacan, when the boat was ſent out to examine the anchoring ground, and the produce of the place, but in the evening when the boat returned, they were informed, that there was no road for a ſhip to anchor in; that ſome of the crew had with difficulty landed, and found that the ground was every where covered with a kind of wild cane or ruſh; that they had ſeen groves of cocoa-nut trees, but had met with no water. This account occaſioned a general melancholy, and their deſpondency was increaſed, when as they were plying under their topſails, in order to get nearer to the iſland with an intention of ſending the boat on ſhore to get cocoa-nuts for the refreſhment of the ſick, the wind blew ſo ſtrong off ſhore, that they were driven too far to the ſouthward to venture to ſend off their boat, and now the only means of preſerving them from periſhing were their falling in with ſome other of the Ladrone iſlands. But as their knowledge of them was extremely imperfect, they were to truſt entirely to chance for their guidance.

On the 26th of Auguſt in the morning they loſt ſight of the iſland of Anatacan, dreading that it was the laſt land they ſhould ever ſee; but the next morning they diſcovered to the eaſtward three other iſlands, at between ten and fourteen leagues diſtance, which were the iſlands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan, upon which they immediately ſteered towards Tinian, the middlemoſt of the three; but had ſuch a calm, that though they were aſſiſted by the currents, they were the next morning advanced no nearer than within ſix leagues of it. They however kept on their courſe, and about ten o'clock perceived a proa under ſail between Tinian and Aguigan. As this gave them reaſon to believe that theſe iſlands were inhabited, and they well knew that the Spaniards had always an armed force at Guam, they muſtered all their hands that were capable of ſtanding to their arms, in order to diſguiſe their wretched circumſtances, and the more eaſily to procure intelligence, ſhewed Spaniſh colours, and hoiſted a red flag at the fore-top-maſt-head, hoping by this means to make the Centurion paſs for the Manilla galleon, and to decoy ſome of the inhabitants on board. At three in the afternoon the commodore ſent the cutter to find out a proper birth for the ſhip, and it was ſoon perceived that a proa taking the Centurion for the Manilla ſhip, put off from the iſland to meet the cutter, and the cutter returning with the proa in tow, the pinnace was inſtantly ſent to bring the priſoners on board. Thoſe taken were a Spaniard and four Indians, and the Spaniard being immediately examined, his account of the iſland ſurpaſſed their moſt ſanguine hopes. He informed them that it was uninhabited, which, conſidering their defenceleſs condition, was of great conſequence to them, and yet that there were wanting but few of the accommodations that might be procured in the moſt cultivated country. That there was

plenty of good water, and an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry, running wild, and all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods afforded great plenty of lemons, limes, ſweet and ſour oranges, and cocoa-nuts, beſides a fruit peculiar to theſe iſlands, which ſerved inſtead of bread, and that the Spaniards at Guam made uſe of the iſland as a ſtore for ſupplying the garriſon, on which account he was ſent thither with two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to carry to Guam in a ſmall bark that lay at anchor near the ſhore.

This account was received with inexpreſſible joy, and they were now near enough to perceive large herds of cattle feeding in different parts of the iſland, and the appearance of the ſhore would not ſuffer them to doubt of the reſt of his narration. The proſpect of the country, inſtead of reſembling a place uninhabited and without cultivation, ſeemed to be laid out with great ſkill in ſpacious lawns, and ſtately woods, and the whole ſo artfully combined, and ſo judiciouſly adapted to the ſlopes of the hills and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a moſt ſtriking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus were they providentially brought to this delightful iſland, by means which they at firſt ſight had conſidered as the greateſt of misfortunes; for had they not been driven by thoſe contrary winds and currents which had filled them with the moſt terrible apprehenſions, to the northward of their courſe, they would in all probability have miſſed this ſpot, where alone all their wants could be fully relieved, the ſick recovered, and their enfeebled crew once more refreſhed, and enabled to purſue their voyage.

The commodore being now ſolicitous to hinder the governor of Guam from obtaining intelligence of his arrival, reſolved to endeavour, if poſſible, to prevent the eſcape of the Indians, and therefore

diſpatched the pinnace to ſecure the bark, which he was told was the only veſſel at the iſland, and about eight in the evening, they caſt anchor in twenty-two fathom; but though the weather was almoſt calm, and all the vigour and ſpirit poſſeſſed by the crew were exerted on going to take poſſeſſion of this little terreſtrial paradiſe, they were ſo weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnace being ſent on ſhore, that they were full five hours in furling the ſails, and even including thoſe who were abſent with the boats, and ſome Indians and negroes, all the hands they could muſter, capable of ſtanding at a gun, were only ſeventy-one, moſt of whom were incapable of duty, except on extraordinary occaſions, and theſe were all that could be collected from the united crews of the Centurion, the Glouceſter, the Tryal and Anna Pink, which conſiſted of about 1000 hands on their departure from England.

As the commodore was not certain what oppoſition might be made by the Indians on the iſland, he ſent a party well armed on ſhore the next morning to ſecure the landing place, which was done without the leaſt difficulty. For the Indians having the night before perceived by the ſeizure of the bark, that they were enemies, immediately fled into the woods. This party found on ſhore many huts, which ſaved the ſailors the trouble of erecting tents, and one of theſe, which was uſed for a ſtore-houſe being twenty yards long and fifteen broad, was inſtantly cleared of ſome jerked beef, converted into an hoſpital, and, as ſoon as it was ready, the ſick, who amounted to 128, were brought on ſhore. Numbers of theſe were ſo helpleſs, that the men were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hoſpital on their ſhoulders, in which humane employment the commodore again, and every one of his officers without diſtinction, were engaged;

but notwithſtanding the extreme debility of the greateſt part of the ſick, they in a ſurpriſing manner ſoon felt the ſalutary influence of the land; for though twenty-one men were buried on that and the following days, yet during the whole two months in which they ſtaid there, they did not loſe above ten more. For the ſick reaped ſuch benefit from the fruits of the iſland, and in particular thoſe of the acid kind, that within a week moſt of them were ſo recovered, as to be able to move without aſſiſtance.

The iſland of Tinian lies in the latitude of 15°. 8'. north, and 114°. 50'. weſt longitude from Acapulco. It is about twelve miles in length, and half as much in breadth. The land riſes in gentle ſlopes from the beach to the middle of the iſland; but its aſcent is frequently interrupted by vallies of an eaſy deſcent, many of which wind irregularly through the country. Theſe vallies, and the gradual ſwellings of the ground to which their different combinations gave riſe, are beautifully diverſified, by the mutual approach of woods and lawns, which border upon each other, and in large tracts traverſe the iſland. The woods are compoſed of tall and ſpreading trees, moſt of which are worthy of being admired, either for their fruit or for their beauty. While the lawns are generally of a conſiderable breadth, and covered with a clean and uniform turf, compoſed of a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers. In many places the woods are open, and free from all buſhes and underwood. So that on the borders of the lawns, neither ſhrubs nor weeds are to be ſeen, and the neatneſs of the adjacent turf is frequently extended to a conſiderable diſtance under the hollow ſhade formed by the trees. Hence aroſe a great variety of the moſt elegant and entertaining proſpects, according to the different blending of theſe woods and lawns, as they ſpread

themſelves through the vallies and along the ſlopes and declivities with which the place abounds. The animals that enliven the landſkips in ſome meaſure partake of the romantic caſt of the iſland, and are a great addition to the beauty of the proſpects, for the cattle are all of them milk white, except their ears, which are generally black or brown, and it is not uncommon to ſee ſome hundreds of theſe feeding together in a large meadow, and though there are no inhabitants, yet the noiſe and frequent appearance of domeſtic poultry, which in great numbers range the woods, greatly contribute to the cheerfulneſs and beauty of the place, by perpetually exciting the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages.

The cattle at Tinian were computed to amount to at leaſt 10,000, and as they were not at all ſhy, the crew of the Centurion found no difficulty in getting near them. They at firſt brought them down by ſhooting them; but afterwards, when by accidents that will be hereafter mentioned, they were obliged to huſband their ammunition, the ſailors eaſily ran them down. Their fleſh was extremely well taſted, and was thought to be more eaſily digeſted than any they had yet met with. The fowls too, which were extremely good, were alſo run down with little trouble; as they could ſcarce fly above an hundred yards at a flight, and were then ſo fatigued, that they could not readily riſe again, ſo that being aſſiſted by the openneſs of the woods, they were always able to take what number they pleaſed. And that no delicacies might be wanting, they were furniſhed with great plenty of wild fowl, for near the centre of the iſland there were two conſiderable pieces of freſh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlews, and the whiſtling plover, was alſo found there in prodigious plenty. They here likewiſe found abundance of wild hogs, which were moſt

excellent food, but being extremely fierce, the ſailors were obliged either to ſhoot them, or to hunt them with ſome large dogs they found upon the iſland, and which belonged to the detachment ſent to provide proviſions for the garriſon of Guam; and as theſe dogs had been trained to the killing of wild hogs, they readily followed the ſailors, and hunted for them; but notwithſtanding their being of a large and bold breed, the hogs fought with ſuch fury, that they at length deſtroyed the greateſt part of them.

This iſland was alſo of extreme advantage on account of its fruits and vegetables, which were moſt happily adapted to the cure of the ſea-ſcurvy; for the woods produced ſweet and ſour oranges, limes, guavoes, vaſt quantities of cocoa-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the ſame tree, and a peculiar kind of fruit to be found only in theſe iſlands, called by the Indians Rhyma, but by the Centurion's people the bread fruit, for it was conſtantly eaten by them inſtead of bread, and ſo univerſally preferred to it, that none of the ſhip's bread was expended during their ſtay on the iſland. It grows upon a pretty lofty tree, which near the top divides into large and ſpreading branches, the leaves which are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length, are of a remarkable deep green, and notched about the edges. The fruit which is found indifferently on all parts of the branches, is rather of an oval form than round, it is covered with a rough rind, and uſually ſeven or eight inches long, and each of them grows ſingly, and not in cluſters. It is fitteſt to be uſed when green, but full grown, and being roaſted in the embers, has ſome diſtant reſemblance to the taſte of an artichoke's bottom, and is like that of a ſoft and ſpungy nature: but as it ripens it becomes ſofter, turns yellow, and has a luſcious taſte, and agreeable ſmell, not unlike a ripe peach;

however, it is then eſteemed unwholeſome, and is ſaid to produce fluxes. Mr. Dampier, to whom our author refers for a more particular deſcription, ſays, it is as large as a good ſized two-penny loaf, and that the inſide is ſoft, tender, white, and crummy like bread, and if eaten in twenty-four hours after it is plucked, has a ſweet and pleaſant taſte; and that this excellent fruit is in ſeaſon eight months in the year: This iſland alſo affords many other vegetables, proper for the cure of that dreadful diſeaſe they had ſo long laboured under, as ſcurvy-graſs, ſorrel, mint, dandelion, creeping-purſlain, and water-melons, on all which, together with the freſh proviſions, they fed with great eagerneſs, being prompted to it by the ſtrong inclination which the ſea ſcurvy never fails to excite for thoſe powerful remedies.

It may ſeem ſurpriſing, that this beautiful iſland, ſo elegantly furniſhed with the neceſſaries and luxuries of life, ſhould be entirely void of inhabitants. To remove this difficulty, it muſt be obſerved, that in ſomething leſs than fifty years before Mr. Anſon's arrival, it was a populous country, and is ſaid to have contained 30,000 ſouls, but a ſickneſs raging at Tinian, Rota, and Guam, all of which were full of inhabitants, the Spaniards, to recruit the people at Guam, who were greatly diminiſhed by the mortality, forced all the inhabitants of Tinian to remove thither; where they languiſhed after their native iſland, till, in a few years, the greateſt part of them died of grief. Theſe poor Indians might reaſonably have expected, from their being placed at ſuch an immenſe diſtance from Spain, to have eſcaped the cruelty which had occaſioned the deſtruction of great part of the weſtern world; but the only advantage they received from this diſtance, was their periſhing an age or two later.

The iſland ſtill affords remains, which ſhow it to have been once extremely populous; for, in all parts of it there are many ruins of a very remarkable kind, which generally conſiſt of two rows of pyramidical pillars, at about twelve feet diſtance, each pillar in the row ſtanding about ſix feet from the next. Theſe pillars are almoſt five feet ſquare at the baſe; they are about thirteen feet high; and on the top of each is a ſemi-globe with a flat ſurface upwards. Both the pillars and ſemi-globe are ſolid, and compoſed of ſand and ſtone cemented together, and plaiſtered over. The priſoners informed the Engliſh, that theſe were the foundations of buildings, ſet apart only for thoſe Indians who had engaged in ſome religious vow; and indeed monaſtic inſtitutions are often to be met with in pagan nations; but, if theſe ruins were originally the baſis of the common dwelling-houſes of the natives, even in this caſe their numbers muſt have been conſiderable, ſince in many parts of the iſland they are extremely thick planted, and are a ſufficient proof of the multitude of its former inhabitants.

It muſt not be omitted that all the above advantages enjoyed by this iſland, were much enhanced by the healthineſs of its climate, by the breezes that almoſt conſtantly prevailed, and the frequent ſhowers with which it was ſprinkled, which were uſually of a ſhort and almoſt momentary duration. The ſalubrity of the air had a ſurprizing effect in ſtrengthening both the appetite and digeſtion. It was here very remarkable, that even thoſe of the officers who every where elſe had been very temperate eaters, and who, beſides a ſlight breakfaſt, uſed to make only one moderate meal a day, ſeemed here transformed into gluttons; for inſtead of one reaſonable meal upon fleſh, they were now hardly ſatisfied with three, each of which was ſo prodigious, that at another place it would have

produced a fever, or a ſurfeit, and yet their digeſtion was ſo agreeable to the keenneſs of their appetites, that they were neither diſordered nor overloaded by this uncommon repletion.

The principal inconvenience attending thoſe who reſide in the iſland, ariſes from the great number of muſketoes, and many other ſpecies of flies, together with a kind of tick, which though it principally fixes on the cattle, would frequently fall upon the limbs and bodies of the men, and if not removed in time, would bury its head under the ſkin, and raiſe a painful inflammation. The Centurion's people alſo found there ſcorpions and centipedes, which they ſuppoſed to be venomous, though they received no injury from them.

However the muſt conſiderable exception to this place is the inconvenience of the road, which in ſome ſeaſons of the year, affords but little ſecurity for a ſhip at anchor. The only proper anchoring place for ſhips of burden is at the ſouth-weſt end of the iſland, where the Centurion anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathoms water, oppoſite to a ſandy bay, about a mile and a half diſtance from the ſhore; but the bottom of this road being full of ſharp-pointed coral rocks, it has a very unſafe anchorage from the middle of June to the middle of October, which is the ſeaſon of the weſtern monſoons; and what adds to this danger, is the extraordinary rapidity of the tide flood, which ſets to the ſouth-eaſt, between this iſland and Aguigan. But in the remaining eight months of the year, there is ſuch a conſtant ſeaſon of ſettled weather, that if the cables are well armed, there is ſcarcely any danger of their being ever rubbed. But to return to the employment of the Centurion's people on ſhore.

While they were landing the ſick, four of the Indians on the iſland ſurrendered themſelves to the commodore, ſo that he had eight now in his cuſtody.

One of theſe four offered to ſhew the moſt convenient place for killing cattle; and two of the Engliſh were ordered to attend him on that ſervice; but on one of them truſting the Indian with his firelock and piſtol, the Indian eſcaped with them into the woods, when his countrymen being apprehenſive of ſuffering for this inſtance of perfidy, deſired to ſend one of their party into the country to bring back the arms, and to perſuade the remainder of the detachment from Guam to ſubmit. The commodore granted their requeſt, and one of them was diſpatched, who returned the next day with the piſtol and firelock, which he pretended to have found in a path way, and proteſted that he had not been able to meet with any of his countrymen: but this report appeared ſo improbable, that it occaſioned a ſuſpicion that ſome treachery was carrying on, upon which the commodore ordered all the Indians in his power to be ſent on board the ſhip, and not allowed to return on ſhore.

All the hands that could be ſpared from attending the ſick, were now employed in arming the cables with a good rounding to ſecure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks, which being completed, many attempts were made to ſtop the Centurion's leak; but after ſeveral efforts they were obliged to deſiſt, till they could have an opportunity of heaving down.

On the 12th of September, thoſe who were ſo well recovered as to be capable of doing duty, were ſent on board, and then the commodore, who was himſelf ill of the ſcurvy, and had cauſed a tent to be erected for him on ſhore, went thither with a view of ſtaying a few days to recover his health; being convinced by experience, that no other method but living on the land, was to be truſted for the removal of that dreadful diſeaſe. The place where his tent was pitched was an elegant ſpot near the well whence they got all their water.

The caſks were next ſent on ſhore to be filled by the coopers, and as the new moon was approaching, when it was apprehended there would be violent gales, every method was taken that prudence could ſuggeſt to arm the anchors, and ſecure the ſhip from the effects of windy weather. But when they had for ſome days flattered themſelves, that the prudence of their meaſures had ſecured them from all accidents, the wind, on the 22d of September, blew from the eaſtward with ſuch fury, that thoſe on board ſoon deſpaired of riding out the ſtorm. The commodore and moſt of the hands were on ſhore, and all their hopes of ſafety ſeemed to depend on their putting immediately to ſea. All communication with the ſhip was cut off, for it was impoſſible that a boat could live. As the night approached, the violence of the ſtorm increaſed, while the tide, which at the beginning of the hurricane ſet to the northward, turned ſuddenly to the ſouthward, and in ſpite of the ſtorm forced the ſhip before it. The ſea now broke ſurpriſingly all round the ſhip with a large tumbling ſwell, by which the long-boat, which was moored aſtern, was ſuddenly canted ſo high, that it broke the tranſome of the commodore's gallery, whoſe cabbin was on the quarter-deck, and the ſtroke was ſo violent that it ſtove the boat all to pieces, yet the poor boat-keeper, though extremely bruiſed, was ſaved. At length the tide ſlackened, but the wind did not abate, and their cables breaking, all on board were in the greateſt danger, and accordingly fired guns, and ſhewed lights to the commodore, as ſignals of diſtreſs. About one o'clock, the night being extremely dark, a ſtrong guſt, attended with rain and lightning, forced them out to ſea, utterly unprepared to ſtruggle with the united fury of the waves and winds, and every moment expecting to be loſt.

The dreadful ſtorm by which the Centurion was driven to ſea, had been too violent to permit any of the people on ſhore to hear the guns, which ſhe fired as ſignals of diſtreſs, while the flaſhes of lightning had hindered the exploſions from being obſerved, and therefore at day-break, when it was perceived on ſhore that the ſhip was miſſing, they were all in the utmoſt conſternation. Much the greateſt part of them inſtantly concluded that ſhe was loſt, and entreated the commodore to ſend the boat round the iſland in ſearch of the wreck. While thoſe who believed her ſafe, had ſcarcely any expectation of her ever being able to return, as the wind ſtill continued, and as ſhe was ill manned, and ſo poorly provided for ſtruggling with ſo tempeſtuous a gale. In either of which caſes they conſidered their ſituation as very deplorable, ſince it would be impoſſible for them ever to leave the iſland, and that therefore they muſt bid an everlaſting adieu to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domeſtic endearments. They had alſo reaſon to apprehend, that the governor of Guam, on being informed of their ſituation on ſhore, would ſend a force ſufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that iſland, and that on his having them in his power, he would make their want of commiſſions, all of which were on board the Centurion, a pretence for treating them as pirates, and for putting them to an infamous death.

However, Mr. Anſon ſoon formed a ſcheme for extricating himſelf and his men from their preſent anxious ſituation, and having conſulted ſome of the moſt intelligent perſons about him, and ſatisfied himſelf that it was practicable, endeavoured to animate his people to put it ſpeedily in execution. He told them that he was not without hope that the Centurion would return in a few days, ſince

there was no reaſon to apprehend her being loſt, and that the worſt that could be imagined, was her being driven too far to the leeward of the iſland to return, which would oblige her to bear away for Macao, on the coaſt of China; that in this caſe he had conſidered of a method of following her; which was, to haul the Spaniſh bark on ſhore, to ſaw her aſunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet: which would enlarge her to near forty tons burthen, and enable her to carry them all to China; that the carpenters whom he had conſulted, had agreed that this was practicable, and that nothing was wanted to execute it but their united reſolutions and induſtry: and then added, that, for his own part, he would ſhare the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than he himſelf was ready to ſubmit to.

The people now began to flatter themſelves that the Centurion would be able to regain the iſland; and from this hope they did not heartily engage in the project as the commodore could have wiſhed; but at laſt being ſatisfied that it was impoſſible the ſhip ſhould return, they reſolutely applied themſelves to the different taſks allotted them, with as much eagerneſs and induſtry as the commodore could deſire; punctually aſſembling by day-break at the rendezvous, where they were ſet to their different employments, which they followed with unuſual vigour till night.

But before they entered upon this arduous taſk, an incident happened that gave Mr. Anſon the deepeſt concern; for a few days after the ſhip was driven off, ſome men on ſhore cried out a ſail; which ſpread a general joy, every body ſuppoſing that the ſhip was returning; but ſoon after a ſecond ſail being obſerved, deſtroyed their hopes, and made it difficult to gueſs what they were. Mr. Anſon eagerly turned his glaſs towards them, and ſeeing they were two boats, it immediately oc-

curred to him that the Centurion was ſunk, and that theſe were the two boats coming back with the remains of her people; an idea which ſo deeply affected him, that he was obliged immediately to retire without ſpeaking to his tent, in order to conceal his emotion; where he paſſed ſome bitter moments under the firm belief that the ſhip was loſt, and that all his views of ſtill ſignalizing his expedition by ſome important exploit were at an end. He was, however, ſoon relieved from theſe diſtreſſing thoughts by diſcovering that the two boats were Indian proas; when obſerving that they made towards the ſhore, he ordered that every thing that could give them any ſuſpicion ſhould be removed; and concealed his people in the adjacent thickets, to ſecure the Indians upon their landing; but the proas, after coming within a quarter of a mile of the beach, ſtopped ſhort, and having remained motionleſs two hours, ſteered to the ſouthward.

About the ſame time another incident happened of a very extraordinary nature. The commodore, attended by ſome of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the iſland, and being on a riſing ground obſerved a ſmall thicket in the valley beneath that had a progreſſive motion. They were at firſt ſurprized, but ſoon perceived it was only ſome large cocoa buſhes dragged along by perſons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that theſe were ſome of the party they had found there at their arrival; and therefore Mr. Anſon, and thoſe who were with him, haſtened after them in hopes of diſcovering their retreat; when the Indians, perceiving that they were diſcovered, ran away with precipitation: but the commodore was ſo near them as not to loſe ſight of them till they reached their cell; which he and his officers entering, found that there was a paſſage through it, which led down a precipice, at which they made their eſcape.

They here found an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a large quantity of proviſions, and in particular ſalted pork, which was excellent; and, from what theſe gentlemen ſaw, they concluded, that their own extraordinary appetite was not confined to the Engliſh; for it being about noon, the Indians, conſidering their number, had laid out a very plentiful repaſt, and had their cocoa nuts and bread fruit ready prepared for eating; and in ſuch a manner as ſhewed, that a good meal was neither an uncommon nor a diſregarded article. Mr. Anſon having ſearched to no purpoſe after the path by which the Indians had eſcaped, he and his officers ſat down to the dinner ſo luckily provided for them. After which they returned back ſomewhat diſpleaſed at miſſing the Indians, as they hoped that if they could have had any conference with them, they ſhould have engaged them in their ſervice.

The lengthening the bark was attended with great difficulty; ſome of the tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting: when the whole ſhould be completed, they were to rigg, victual, and navigate her, for the ſpace of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues, though unknown ſeas, which had not been paſſed by any one of the company. However their hopes were kept up by the intervention of ſeveral extraordinary and unexpected accidents. The carpenters both of the Glouceſter and Tryal were on ſhore with their cheſts of tools; the ſmith too was on ſhore with his forge and ſeveral of his tools; but his bellows were on board the ſhip; ſo that he was incapable of working, and they could have no hopes of proceeding without his aſſiſtance. They reſolved, therefore, firſt of all to make him a pair of bellows, but were for ſome time puzzled for want of leather; but having plenty of hides, and finding a hogſhead of lime, which belonged to the Spaniards or In-

dians, they tanned a few of the hides with it; ſo that the leather anſwered the intention, and they completed the bellows by making a gun-barrel ſerve for a pipe.

While the ſmith was preparing the iron-work, others were employed in felling trees, and ſawing them into planks; which being the moſt laborious taſk, the commodore, for the encouragement of the people, worked at it himſelf. A new difficulty was occaſioned by there being neither blocks nor cordage for hauling the bark on ſhore; but this was removed by making rollers of the body of the cocoa-nut-tree, which from its ſmoothneſs and circular-turn, was adapted to the purpoſe with very little labour. A dry dock was dug to receive the bark, and a way found from thence into the ſea; a party was ordered conſtantly to kill and provide proviſions for the reſt: and good order being eſtabliſhed, and all hands employed, the preparations advanced apace; the men being perhaps the more tractable and induſtrious from there being neither wine nor brandy on ſhore; for the juice of the cocoa-nut, which though pleaſant, was not intoxicating, was their conſtant drink.

As the work advanced apace, the officers began to conſider of the rigging neceſſary to fit the bark for ſea; when it was found that the tents on ſhore, with the ſails and rigging already belonging to the bark, and the ſpare cordage, which had been accidentally landed from the Centurion, would anſwer this purpoſe. They propoſed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime; but there was one inconvenience which could not be removed: which was, that, as ſhe was not quite forty tons burden, ſhe would be incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and would be ſo top heavy, that, if all were upon deck at the ſame time, ſhe would be in danger of over-ſetting. The article of procuring a ſtock of proviſions for

the voyage gave them great perplexity, as they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on ſhore, and the bread-fruit would not keep at ſea; and, though they had live cattle they had ſcarcely any ſalt. However, they preſerved a ſmall quantity of jerked beef, which they had found in the iſland at their landing; but this was greatly inſufficient. However, it was at laſt reſolved to carry as many cocoa-nuts as they could, to prolong the jerked beef, by uſing it very ſparingly, and to ſupply the want of bread by rice; to obtain which, they ſhould land in the iſland of Rota, where the Spaniards had large plantations of that grain, and carry of a ſufficient quantity by force; but this ſcheme making it neceſſary for them to examine the ammunition they had on ſhore, they had the mortification to find that all the powder did not amount to one charge a-piece to each of the company.

One of the moſt alarming circumſtances was, the diſcouraging diſcovery, that there was neither compaſs nor quadrant on the iſland: but, at laſt, on rummaging the cheſt belonging to the Spaniſh bark, they diſcovered a ſmall compaſs, which, though little better than ſuch as were made for the amuſement of ſchool-boys, was to them an invaluable treaſure, and afterwards a quadrant was found on the ſea-ſhore, which had been thrown overboard among other lumber belonging to the dead. This was eagerly ſeized, but, on examination, it unluckily wanted vanes, and was therefore entirely uſeleſs. However a perſon ſometime after pulling out the drawer of an old table, which had been driven on ſhore, found ſome vanes in it, which fitted the quadrant very well; when it being examined by the known latitude of the place, it was found to be ſufficiently exact.

All things now being in great forwardneſs, and ſome of the principal obſtacles removed, they

were able to determine when the whole would be finiſhed, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to ſea; but on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the Glouceſter's men being upon a hill in the middle of the iſland, ſaw the Centurion at a diſtance, and running with the utmoſt ſpeed towards the landing place, ſaw in his way ſome of his comrades, to whom he called with great ecſtaſy, "The ſhip! the ſhip!" which being heard by Mr. Gordon, a lieutenant of the marines, he ran to the place where the commodore and his people were at work, and being freſh and in breath, eaſily outſtripped the Glouceſter's man, and told the commodore, who, on hearing this joyful and unexpected news, threw down his axe with which he was then at work, while the others ran down to the ſea-ſide, to feaſt themſelves with the ſight, for which they had ſo eagerly longed. By five in the evening the Centurion was viſible to them all, when a boat was ſent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, with freſh meat and fruits for the refreſhment of the crew, and the next afternoon ſhe happily caſt anchor in the road, where the commodore immediately went on board her, and was received with joyful acclamations.

To proceed to what happened on board the Centurion while at ſea. It has already been obſerved that ſhe was driven from the iſland in a very dark night, by a prodigious ſtorm. The condition of thoſe on board was very dreadful, they were in a leaky ſhip, with three cables in their hawſes, to one of which hung their only remaining anchor, not a gun on board was laſhed, nor a port barred in, and they were able to ſet no ſail except the mizen. They could muſter no more ſtrength to navigate the ſhip than 108 hands, which were ſcarcely the fourth part of her complement, and moſt of theſe were either boys, or ſuch as

were ſtill feeble from their being but lately recovered of the ſcurvy. By the violence of the ſtorm and the working of the ſhip, they made a great quantity of water through the ports, hawſe-holes, and ſcuppers, which added to the leak, rendered their pumps a ſufficient employment for all on board. But they had other dangers which appeared ſtill more immediate. They all imagined they were driving on the iſland of Aguigan, which was about two leagues diſtant, and as they had no ſail but the mizen, that was inſufficient to clear them of this imminent danger. They, therefore, left the pumps to uſe their utmoſt efforts to heave up the main and fore yards, in order to ſave themſelves, if poſſible, from being wrecked. But after three hours ineffectual labour, the jears broke, and the men were obliged, from mere debility, to deſiſt, and quietly expect their fate, which appeared inevitable; for they eſteemed themſelves driving juſt upon the ſhore, and the darkneſs of the night made them expect to diſcover it no otherwiſe than by ſtriking upon it, ſo that they were ſeveral hours under the ſerious apprehenſions that each ſucceeding moment would ſend them to the bottom; nor did theſe continued terrors of inſtantly ſtriking and ſinking ceaſe till day-break, when in a tranſport of joy they perceived that the dreadful iſland was at a conſiderable diſtance, and that they had been preſerved by a ſtrong northern current.

The boiſterous wind which had forced them from Tinian did not abate till three days after, and while they continued out at ſea, both the chaplain and every other officer were obliged to ſubmit to the ſame bodily labour as the common ſailors. The heaving up of the ſheet anchor, which they had hitherto dragged at their bows with two cables, coſt them the ſevereſt application for twelve

hours, before they brought it in ſight, when it growing dark, their fatigue obliged them to deſiſt till the next day, and then that arduous taſk was completed. They afterwards conquered ſome of the other difficulties they laboured under, and being enabled to make uſe of their canvaſs, ſtood to the eaſtward in hopes of regaining the iſland of Tinian, they being, according to their own reckonings, but forty ſeven leagues diſtant from it. But on the firſt of October, when they had run the diſtance neceſſary for making the iſland, according to their own reckoning, and were in full expectation of ſeeing it, they were unhappily diſappointed, and convinced that a current had driven them conſiderably to the weſtward. They were now in great perplexity from the apprehenſions of wanting water, but the next day had a ſight of the iſland of Guam, and thence computed that the current had driven them forty leagues to the weſtward of their accounts. The ſight of land let them know their ſituation, and, therefore, plying to the eaſtward, they continued that courſe with exceſſive labour, and with a contrary wind till the 11th of October, which was the 19th day from their departure, when arriving in the offing of Tinian, they were reinforced from the ſhore, and, to their inexpreſſible joy, on the evening of the ſame day, came to an anchor in the road.

The commodore, on his going on board the Centurion, after her return to Tinian, reſolved to ſtay no longer at the iſland than was abſolutely neceſſary to complete his ſtock of water, and the long boat being ſtaved, as has been already mentioned, they were obliged to make uſe of rafts, which, as the tide ran extremely ſtrong, occaſioned frequent delays, and more than once the loſs of the whole raft; but this was not their only misfortune, for on the third day after the Centurion's return, a ſudden guſt of wind brought home her

anchor, and drove her a ſecond time to ſea. However, the commodore and the principal officers were now on board, but there were near ſeventy of the men on ſhore, who had been employed in filling water and procuring proviſions. They had the two cutters with them but they being too many for the cutters to bring off at once, the commodore ſent the eighteen oared barge to their aſſiſtance. The two cutters ſoon returned filled with men, but forty of the company remained behind who were employed in killing cattle in the woods, and in bringing them to the landing-place. Yet as the ſhip ſoon drove to a conſiderable diſtance, it was not in their power to join her, though the eighteen oared barge was left to convey them on board. The weather, however, being favourable, the Centurion within about five days returned again to an anchor at Tinian.

On the Centurion's arrival it appeared that the Spaniſh bark had undergone a new change, for the people on ſhore deſpairing of her return, had reſolved to reſtore the bark to her firſt ſtate, and had made ſuch progreſs, that they would ſoon have completed her.

The people at their ſecond return to the iſland laboured with indefatigable induſtry in getting in their water; and having by the 20th of October completed it to fifty ton, which was thought ſufficient for their paſſage to Macao, the commodore ſent the next day one of each meſs on ſhore, to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, as they pleaſed, for the uſe of themſelves and their meſs-mates at ſea, and they returning in the evening, fire was ſet to the bark and proa, the Centurion hoiſted in her boats, got under ſail, and ſteered towards the ſouth end of the iſland of Formoſa.

It cannot here be improper to interrupt the narration, with a deſcription of that range of iſlands, generally called the Ladrones or Marian iſlands, which were diſcovered by Magellan in the year 1521, and from the account given of the two firſt he fell in with, it ſeems as if they were thoſe of Sapan and Tinian, for they are repreſented as extremely beautiful, and as lying in between fifteen and ſixteen degrees of north latitude. From the pleaſing appearance of Tinian, the Spaniards have given it the name of Buenaviſta, and Saypan, which is in the latitude of 15°. 22'. north latitude, affords an agreeable proſpect when ſeen at ſea.

Theſe iſlands are generally reckoned twelve in number; but if the ſmall iſlets and rocks are counted, they will in all amount to above twenty. Formerly moſt of them were inhabited; but of the three principal iſlands, Guam, Rota, and Tinian, which ſeventy years ago are ſaid to have been extremely populous, Tinian hath been entirely depopulated, and not above two or three hundred Indians left at Rota to cultivate rice for the iſland of Guam, ſo that at preſent the laſt mentioned iſland is the only one that can properly be ſaid to be inhabited by the Spaniards, for there they keep a governor and a garriſon, and there the Manilla ſhip generally touches for refreſhment in her paſſage from Acapulco to the Philippines. That iſland is computed to be about thirty leagues in circumference, and contains near 4000 inhabitants, 1000 of whom are ſuppoſed to live in the city of San Ignatio de Agana, which is the governor's uſual reſidence. The houſes are built with ſtone and timber, and covered with tiles, which is a very unuſual method of building in theſe warm climates. This iſland has alſo thirteen or fourteen villages. As Guam is eſteemed a place of conſequence, on account of its affording refreſhment to the Manilla ſhip, there are two caſtles on the ſea ſhore, which

mount only five guns each, and a battery of five pieces of cannon on an eminence near the ſea. The Spaniards have here three companies of foot, of between forty and fifty men each; this is the principal ſtrength on which the governor depends, for he is generally upon ill terms with the inhabitants, who are debarred the uſe of lances and fire-arms.

Though the reſt of theſe iſlands are uninhabited, they afford plenty of all kinds of refreſhment, but there is not a good harbour or road among them all; and though the Manilla ſhip is to ſtay only twenty-four hours at Guam, it is not uncommon for her to be forced out to ſea, and to leave her boat behind her.

The Indians of theſe iſlands are a ſtrong, well-limbed, and bold people, and from ſome of their practices, ſeem to be no ways defective in underſtanding; for their flying proas, which for ages paſt have been the only veſſels they have employed, are a very ſingular and extraordinary invention, and are ſaid to be capable of running with a briſk trade wind near twenty miles an hour. The head and ſtern of the proa are exactly alike, but her two ſides are very different. That intended to be always the lee-ſide being flat, whilſt the windward ſide is built rounding in the manner of other veſſels; but as her ſmall breadth, and the ſtraight run of her leeward ſide, would infallibly make her overſet, a frame is laid out to the windward, to the end of which is faſtened an hollow log, formed like a ſmall boat. The weight of the frame is deſigned to balance the proa, and the ſmall boat, which is always in the water, to prevent her overſetting to windward. In ſhort, the body of the proa is formed of two pieces joined endways, and ſowed together with bark; for no iron is uſed in her conſtruction. She is about two inches at the bottom, which at the gunwale is reduced to leſs than one. The proa general-

ly carries ſix or ſeven Indians, two of whom are placed in the head and ſtern, who ſteer the veſſel alternately with a paddle, according to the tack ſhe goes on, he in the ſtern being the ſteerſman. The other Indians are employed either in bailing out the water, which ſhe accidently ſhips, or in ſetting and trimming the ſail. Theſe veſſels ſail moſt excellently on a wind, and with either end foremoſt, run from one of theſe iſlands to the other, and back again only by ſhifting the ſail, without ever putting about, and by their ſmall breadth and the flatneſs of their lee-ſide, are capable of lying much nearer the wind than any other veſſel hitherto known.

The Centurion departed from Tinian on the 21ſt of October, in the evening, when the eaſtern monſoon being ſettled, ſhe generally ran from forty-three to fifty leagues a day. On the 3d of November they ſaw an iſlet or rock, and about an hour after, the iſland called Botel Tobago Xima. Having doubled the ſouthern extremity of Formoſa, which is in the latitude of 21°. 15'. north, they paſſed by the rock Vele Rete, but at this inſtant the people in the Centurion were alarmed by an outcry of fire in the forecaſtle, upon which the whole crew immediately flocked together in the utmoſt confuſion, ſo that for ſome time the officers found it difficult to appeaſe the uproar, but the people being at length reduced to order, it was perceived that the fire proceeded from the bricks in the furnace being over-heated, which had occaſioned their communicating the fire to the adjacent wood-work, but by pulling down the brick-work it was eaſily extinguiſhed. In the evening they were ſurpriſed with the ſight of what they at firſt took to be breakers, but on a ſtrict examination they were found to be only a great number of fires on the iſland of Formoſa, which they imagined were intended by the inhabi-

tants as ſignals to invite them to touch there. But they were too impatient to reach the port of Macao to conſent to this delay. At about midnight they got ſight of the main-land of China at four leagues diſtance, upon which they brought the ſhip to, propoſing to wait for the morning; but before ſun-riſe they were ſurpriſed to find themſelves in the midſt of an incredible number of fiſhing boats, which ſeemed to cover the ſurface of the ſea as far as the eye could reach, moſt of them were manned with five hands, and none with leſs than three; and as they ran to the weſtward they found them as numerous on every part of the coaſt. The commodore was at firſt in hopes of procuring a pilot from them, to conduct the ſhip to Macao; but the people on board could not make them underſtand their meaning. What appeared moſt ſurpriſing, was the inattention and want of curioſity obſerved in this herd of fiſhermen, who had doutleſs never ſeen any ſhip like the Centurion, and perhaps there was not one in all that fiſhery who had ever beheld an European veſſel: but though many of the boats came cloſe to the ſhip, they did not in the leaſt deviate from their courſe to regard it.

On the 5th of November at midnight they firſt made the coaſt of China, and about two the next day, while they were ſteering to the weſtward within two leagues of the coaſt, and ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing veſſels in as great numbers as at firſt, they perceived that a boat a-head of them waved a red flag and blew a horn, which was conſidered by the people of the Centurion as a ſignal made to them either to warn them of ſome ſhoal, or to inform them that they would ſupply them with a pilot. Mr. Anſon therefore immediately ſent out the cutter to the boat to know their intentions, when it was found that this boat was the commodore of the whole fiſhery, and that

the ſignal was to order them all to leave off fiſhing, and to return in ſhore, which they inſtantly obeyed.

Being thus diſappointed, they kept on their courſe, and the next day were a-breaſt of a chain of iſlands that ſtretch from eaſt to weſt, called the iſlands of Lema: they are rocky and barren, and are fifteen or ſixteen in number, beſides many more between them and the main land of China. Being ſtill ſurrounded by fiſhing boats, the commodore once more ſent the cutter on board ſome of them to endeavour to procure a pilot, but without effect. However, one of the Chineſe directed them by ſigns to ſail round the weſtermoſt of the iſlands or rocks of Lema, and then to hale up, which direction they followed, and in the evening they came to an anchor.

The next morning a Chineſe pilot came on board the Centurion, and offered, in broken Portugueſe, to carry the ſhip to Macao for thirty dollars. Theſe were immediately paid him, and then they weighed and made ſail, but ſoon after ſeveral other pilots came on board, who endeavoured to recommend themſelves by producing certificates from many Europeans ſhips they had piloted in, but they ſtill continued under the management of the Chineſe whom they at firſt engaged. They now paſſed by a number of other iſlands; but the tides frequently ſetting ſtrongly againſt them, they were often obliged to come to an anchor, and on the 12th of November anchored in Macao road, and once more arrived at an amicable port, where they expected the ſatisfaction of receiving letters from their relations and friends, and where their countrymen, who were lately arrived from England, would be able to anſwer the numerous inquiries they were prepared to make.

The city of Macao is ſituated in an iſland at the entrance of the river of Canton, and was formerly rich, populous, and able to defend itſelf againſt the power of the adjacent Chineſe governor; but is at preſent ſo reduced, that the governor, who is nominated by the king of Portugal, ſubſiſts merely by the courteſy of the Chineſe, who can ſtarve the place and diſpoſſeſs the Portugueſe whenever they pleaſe, which obliges the governor carefully to avoid giving them offence. The river of Canton, at the mouth of which this city lies, is the only Chineſe port to which European ſhips reſort, and is a far more commodious harbour than Macao. But the commodore's apprehenſions, that if he ſhould inſiſt on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, he would embroil the Eaſt-India company with the regency of Canton, made him chuſe rather to go to Macao, than to enter the port of Canton.

Mr. Anſon no ſooner came to an anchor in Macao road, than he diſpatched an officer with his compliments to the Portugueſe governor, to deſire his excellency's advice in what manner it would be proper for him to act, to avoid giving offence to the Chineſe, which was a matter worthy of attention, as there were then four of our Eaſt-India ſhips in their power at Canton: particular with reſpect to the duty uſually paid by ſhips in that river, according to their tonnage; for as men of war are exempted in every foreign harbour from paying all manner of port charges, Mr. Anſon thought it would derogate from the honour of his country to ſubmit to this duty. In the evening the boat returned with two officers ſent by the governor, who told Mr. Anſon, it was the governor's opinion, that if the Centurion entered the river of Canton, the duty would certainly be expected, and therefore if he approved of it, he would ſend him a pilot, who ſhould

conduct her into another ſafe harbour on the Typa, where the ſhip might be careened, and where the above-mentioned duty would probably never be demanded. To this propoſal the commodore agreed, and the next morning ſteered under the direction of the Portugueſe pilot, and after ſome difficulties, on account of the ſhallowneſs of the water, entered the harbour, which is formed by a number of iſlands, and is about ſix miles diſtant from Macao. He here ſaluted the caſtle of Macao with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

As Mr. Anſon wanted both a ſupply of proviſions, and of naval ſtores for refitting the ſhip, he the next day paid a viſit, in perſon, to the governor, and at his landing was ſaluted by eleven guns, which were returned by the Centurion. But though the governor ſeemed inclined to do him all the ſervice in his power, and told him that he would do this privately, yet he frankly owned that he could not furniſh him with what he demanded, without an order from the viceroy of Canton, ſince all the proviſions and other neceſſaries he received for himſelf and his garriſon were by permiſſion of the Chineſe government, who took care to victual him only from day to day, and were always able to oblige him to ſubmit to their terms, by laying an embargo on his proviſions.

Upon this declaration Mr. Anſon reſolved to go to Canton to ſeek redreſs from the viceroy, and for that purpoſe hired a Chineſe boat for himſelf and his attendants; but juſt when he was ready to embark, the hoppo, or Chineſe cuſtom-houſe officer of Macao refuſed to grant a permit, and ordered the watermen not to proceed at their peril; and though the governor of Macao joined his intereſt to perſuade him, the hoppo continued inflexible. The next day Mr. Anſon told him, that if the permit was any longer refuſed, he would man

and arm the Centurion's boats, and aſked the hoppo, who he imagined would dare to oppoſe their paſſage? Upon this threat the permit was granted, and Mr. Anſon arriving at Canton, conſulted the ſupercargoes and officers of the Engliſh ſhips, how to procure an order from the viceroy for the neceſſaries he wanted, upon which they referred him to ſome Chineſe merchants, who having cajoled him from day to day, by promiſing to lay the ſtate of his affairs before the viceroy, and obtaining for him whatever he deſired; after reiterated excuſes, and a month's delay, threw off the maſk, and, being cloſely preſſed, declared that they neither had, or could make application to the viceroy, as he was too great a man for them to approach on any occaſion. The commodore now perceived, when too late, that he had been wrong in conſulting ſo much the intereſt of the Eaſt-India company, and therefore after his return to the Centurion, wrote a letter to the viceroy, to inform him, that he was commander in chief of a ſquadron of Britiſh ſhips of war, which had been cruiſing for two years paſt againſt the Spaniards, who were at enmity with the king his maſter, and that he was obliged to enter the port of Macao to ſtop a conſiderable leak in his ſhip, and to ſupply himſelf with proviſions and neceſſaries in order to purſue his voyage.

This letter being tranſlated into the Chineſe language, the commodore delivered it himſelf to the hoppo, or chief officer of the cuſtoms at Macao, and deſired him to forward it to the viceroy of Canton, with as much expedition as he could, but that officer ſeeming unwilling to take charge of it, the commodore took it again, and told him, that he would immediately ſend it to Canton in his own boat, and would give his officer poſitive orders not to return without an anſwer from the viceroy. The hoppo now perceiving

that the commodore was in earneſt, and fearing to be called to an account for his refuſal, begged to be intruſted with it, and promiſed to procure an anſwer as ſoon as poſſible. Two days after in the morning, a mandarine of the firſt rank, who was governor of the city of Janſon, together with two mandarines of an inferior claſs, and a conſiderable retinue of officers and ſervants, came in eighteen half gallies, decorated with a great number of ſtreamers, and attended with a band of muſic. The Centurion's boat was immediately diſpatched to bring the principal mandarine on board; and a hundred of the moſt likely people of the crew were uniformly dreſſed in the regimentals of the marines, and drawn up under arms on the main deck againſt his arrival. On his entering the ſhip he was ſaluted by the drums and trumpets, and paſſing by the new formed guard, was met by the commodore on the quarter deck, who conducted him to the great cabbin. The mandarine there explained his commiſſion, and told the commodore that he had brought with him two Chineſe carpenters, to examine the ſtate of the ſhip; and the neceſſary inſpection being made, they declared, that it was impoſſible for the Centurion to proceed to ſea without being refitted. Upon which the mandarine expreſſed himſelf ſatisfied with the account given him in the commodore's letter. This mandarine appeared to be a perſon of conſiderable parts, and endowed with more frankneſs and honeſty than is generally to be found among the Chineſe. He was alſo very curious and inquiſitive, viewed every part of the ſhip with extraordinary attention, and appeared greatly ſurprized at the largeneſs of the lower deck guns, and at the weight and ſize of the ſhot. The commodore obſerving his aſtoniſhment, ſeized this opportunity to convince the Chineſe of the prudence of granting all his demands in the moſt

ample and ſpeedy manner. He therefore complained of the proceedings of the officers of the cuſtom-houſe of Macao, who had prevented his being ſupplied with freſh proviſions, and then telling the mandarines, that as they had informed themſelves of his wants, and were eye-witneſſes of his force, they muſt be ſatisfied that his deſire of having the government's permiſſion to purchaſe what proviſions he wanted, was not becauſe he had no power to ſupply himſelf, ſince he preſumed they were convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of deſtroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or any other port in China. That this, it was true, was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendſhip with each other; but it was alſo true, that it was not cuſtomary for any nation to ſuffer the ſhips of their friends to ſtarve and ſink in their ports, when thoſe friends only deſired liberty to lay out their money. That they muſt confeſs, he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modeſty and reſerve, but as his diſtreſſes were every day increaſing, famine would at laſt prove too ſtrong for any reſtraint, and neceſſity in all countries was acknowledged to be ſuperior to every other law. That therefore, if by the delay of ſupplying him with proviſions, his men ſhould, from the impulſes of hunger, be obliged to turn cannibals, and to prey upon their own ſpecies, it was eaſy to be foreſeen, that, independent of their friendſhip to their comrades, they would in point of luxury prefer the plump well-fed Chineſe to their own emaciated ſhip mates. The firſt mandarine acquieſced in the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, and promiſed on his arrival at Canton to call a council of mandarines, and ſaid, that he did not doubt, but on the repreſentation he ſhould make of what he had ſeen, they would all be of the ſame opinion as himſelf, and that every thing he had demanded

would be ſpeedily granted. That with regard to the complaint of the cuſtom-houſe of Macao, he would rectify it immediately by his own authority, and then deſiring a liſt to be given of the proviſions neceſſary for the ſhip for one day, wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, with orders to ſee that quantity ſent on board every morning early, and this order was punctually complied with.

This affair being regulated, the commodore invited him and the two other mandarines to dinner, but they were much embarraſſed with their knives and forks. After ſome fruitleſs attempts to make uſe of them, in which they appeared extremely aukward, one of their attendants cut their meat for them, in ſmall pieces; however, notwithſtanding the difficulty they found in complying with the European manner of eating, they ſeemed to be no novices at drinking. The commodore excuſed himſelf under the pretence of illneſs, but there being another gentleman preſent of a florid complexion, the chief mandarine clapped him on the ſhoulder, and told him by the interpreter, that he was ſure he could not plead ſickneſs, and therefore inſiſted on his bearing him company, and that gentleman perceiving, that after they had diſpatched four or five bottles of Frontiniac, the mandarine was ſtill unruffled, ordered a bottle of citron-water to be brought, which the Chineſe ſeemed much to reliſh, and this being near finiſhed, they aroſe from table, in appearance cool and undiſordered, and Mr. Anſon having according to cuſtom made the mandarine a preſent, they all departed in the ſame veſſels in which they came.

Mr. Anſon waited with great impatience for the reſolution of the council, and the proper licences to enable him to refit the ſhip; but notwithſtanding the favourable diſpoſition of the mandarine

governor, ſeveral days elapſed before they had any advice from him, and Mr. Anſon was privately informed that there were great debates in council upon this affair. However, on the 6th of January, the mandarine who was the commodore's advocate, ſent the viceroy of Canton's warrant for refitting the Centurion, and for ſupplying her people with all they wanted, and having now the neceſſary licences, a number of Chineſe carpenters and ſmiths went on board the next day, to treat about the work they were to perform. They at firſt aſked the value of 1000l. ſterling for repairing the ſhip, the maſts, and the boats, which the commodore thinking unreaſonable, ſtrove to perſuade them to work by the day; but this they would not hearken to, but it was at laſt agreed, that the carpenters ſhould receive the value of about 600l. for their work, and that the ſmiths ſhould be paid for their iron work by weight, at the rate of near 3l. per hundred for the ſmall work, and 2l. 6s. for the large.

The commodore now exerted himſelf in order to get this important work completed, and diſpatched his firſt lieutenant to Canton to hire two junks, one of which was intended to heave down by, and the other to ſerve as a magazine for the ammunition: at the ſame time the ground was levelled on one of the neighbouring iſlands, a large tent pitched for lodging the lumber and proviſions, and near 100 Chineſe caulkers were ſoon ſet to work on the decks and ſides of the ſhip; but though they worked very well, they were far from being expeditious. However, on the 3d of March, the paying and ſheathing the bottom was completed, to their great joy, ſince not only the fatigue of careening had been conſiderable, but the crew had been apprehenſive of being attacked by the Spaniards while the ſhip was thus incapable of defence. Indeed their fears were not groundleſs, for they

were afterwards informed by a Portugueſe veſſel, that the Spaniards at Manilla had learned, that the Centurion was in the Typa, and intended to careen there, upon which the governor had ſummoned his council, and made a propoſal to burn her while ſhe was careening, which, if properly conducted, might have been accompliſhed. It was alſo reported that the ſcheme was approved, and that the captain of a veſſel had actually undertaken it for 40,000 dollars, which he was not to receive unleſs he ſucceeded; but the governor pretending that there was no treaſure in the royal cheſt, inſiſted that the money ſhould be advanced by the merchants, and they refuſing to comply with the demand, the affair was dropped.

The Centurion was no ſooner righted, than the crew took on board her powder and ammunition, and ſet about repairing the fore-maſt; but while they were thus employed, they were alarmed on the 10th of March by a Chineſe fiſherman, who pretended that he had been on board a large Spaniſh ſhip off the Grand Ladrone, and that there were two more in company, and added, that he had brought one of their officers to Macao, and that boats went off early in the morning from Macao to him. The better to gain credit to this ſtory, he deſired no money if his information ſhould not prove true. It was preſently believed that this perſon was come with a view of burning the ſhip. Upon which the commodore immediately prepared his cannon and ſmall arms for her defence, and his pinnace and cutter being then in the offing, he let them know the advice he had received, and ordered them to keep a ſtrict look out; but no Spaniſh ſhips ever appeared, and the commodore was ſoon convinced that the whole ſtory was a fiction.

In the beginning of April the ſhip was new rigged, her proviſions and water were ſtowed on

board, and ſhe fitted for ſea, before which time the Chineſe had been very uneaſy at her ſtay. At length two mandarine boats came on board to preſs the commodore to leave their port, and this having been often urged before, though there had been no reaſon to ſuſpect Mr. Anſon of delay, he at this laſt meſſage deſired them to give him no farther trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and not ſooner. Upon this they prohibited all proviſions being carried on board, and took ſuch care to enforce this order, that nothing could be purchaſed at any price whatſoever. The Centurion however weighed from the Typa on the 6th of April, and having got into Macao road, completed her water as ſhe paſſed along, and her whole buſineſs being finiſhed by the 19th, ſhe weighed and ſtood to ſea.

It ought to be obſerved that ſoon after their firſt arrival at Macao, Captain Saunders being charged with diſpatches from the commodore, took his paſſage to England on board a Swediſh ſhip, and that ſeveral other officers had obtained the commodore's leave to return home, and had embarked on board ſome of the Eaſt-India company's ſhip's.

The commodore before his departure, had entered twenty-three men, moſt of whom were Laſcars or Indian ſailors, and the reſt Dutch. While he was at Macao he gave out that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England, and though the weſterly monſoon was ſet in, and rendered that paſſage in a manner impracticable, yet he expreſſed ſuch confidence in the ſtrength of his ſhip and the ſkill of his men, that he raiſed a belief, not only among his own crew, but among the people at Macao, that he intended to try that unuſual experiment. But his real deſign was to return to the Pacific Ocean, and to cruize of Cape Eſpiritu Santo, on the iſland of Samal, for the Manilla

ſhips; for he ſuppoſed that there would that year be two, on account of his having prevented one of them from putting to ſea the preceding year. Therefore being clear of the coaſt, he ſummoned all his people on the quarter-deck and informed them of his reſolution; told them that he would chuſe a ſtation where he could not fail of meeting with the two Manilla ſhips, and notwithſtanding their being ſtout veſſels and full manned, yet if his own people behaved with their uſual ſpirit, he was ſure that he ſhould prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at leaſt would not fail of becoming his prize. The men received the commodore's ſpeech with great joy, expreſſed their approbation with three hearty cheers, and declared their reſolution to ſucceed or periſh whenever the opportunity offered. Their hopes, which on their departure from the coaſt of Mexico had entirely ſubſided, were again revived, and they were all firmly perſuaded that they ſhould take the galeons, and return home enriched with the ſpoils of the enemy.

On the firſt of May they ſaw part of the iſland of Formoſa, and on the fourth diſcovered the Baſhee iſlands which have hitherto been laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the weſtward; for by their obſervations, they found the middle of theſe iſlands to be in 21°. 4'. north latitude.

On the 20th of May, at noon, they firſt diſcovered Cape Eſpiritu Santo, which appeared of a moderate heighth, with ſeveral round hummocks upon it. But as they knew that there were ſentinels placed upon this cape to make ſignals to the Acapulco ſhip, when ſhe firſt falls in with the land, the commodore when at eleven leagues diſtance, tacked, and ordered the top-gallant ſails to be taken in, to prevent being diſcovered, reſolving to cruize for the galeons, between the latitude of 12°. 50'. and 13°. 5'. ſouth, the cape itſelf, ac-

cording to their obſervations, lying in 12°. 40'. north latitude. As there was now but ſmall employment for the crew, they were ordered by the commodore to be exerciſed almoſt every day, in working the great guns, and in the uſe of their ſmall arms; which had, more or leſs, been his practice at every convenient opportunity during the whole voyage. They were, indeed, taught no more of the manual exerciſe, than the ſhorteſt way of loading with cartridges, but were conſtantly trained to fire at a mark, which was generally hung at the yard arm, and as ſome little reward was given to the moſt expert, the whole crew were become extremely ſkilful; for beſides an uncommon readineſs in loading, they were all of them good markſmen.

The Centurion having arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo, and the galeons being expected, the commodore made all the neceſſary preparations for receiving them, and was at the ſame time ſolicitous to keep at ſuch a diſtance from the cape as not to be diſcovered. But it has ſince appeared, that in ſpite of all his care, he was ſeen from the land; and advice of this was ſent to Manilla, where it was at firſt diſbelieved; but, upon repeated intelligence of his being again ſeen, the merchants were alarmed; and application being made to the governor, he undertook to fit out a force, conſiſting of two ſhips of thirty-two guns, one of twenty, and two ſloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion in her ſtation, the merchants being to ſupply the neceſſary ſums. Some of theſe veſſels actually weighed; but the principal ſhip not being ready, and the monſoon being againſt them, the governor and merchants diſagreed, which occaſioned the enterprize to be laid aſide.

The impatience of the commodore's people daily increaſed, in proportion as the month of June advanced: but at length the laſt of June, new

ſtile, arrived; when the certainty of ſeeing theſe veſſels dwindled down to a mere impoſſibility; but the next day they were relieved from their uncertainty; for at ſun-riſe, they diſcovered a ſail from the maſt-head. A general joy inſtantly ſpread through the whole ſhip, for they did not at all doubt but this was one of the galeons, and they expected ſoon to deſcry the other. The commodore immediately ſtood towards her; and, at half an hour after ſeven, ſhe was viſible from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galeon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant ſails, which was ſuppoſed to be a ſignal to her conſort to haſten up; and therefore, the Centurion to amuſe her, fired a gun to the leeward. During all this time, the galeon did not change her courſe, but, to the commodore's ſurprize, bore down upon him; for he could hardly believe what afterwards appeared to be the caſe, that ſhe knew his ſhip to be the Centurion, and reſolved to fight him.

About noon the galeon hauled up her fore-ſail, and brought to on her top-ſails, hoiſting Spaniſh colours, and having the ſtandard of Spain flying at the top-gallant-maſt-head. Mean while Mr. Anſon picked out about thirty of his beſt markſmen, whom he diſtributed into the tops; and, as he had not hands enough left to quarter a ſufficient number in the cuſtomary manner to each gun, he on his lower tire fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be ſolely employed in loading it, while the reſt of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were to be continually moving about the decks, to run out and fire ſuch guns as were loaded; by which management he was enabled to make uſe of all his guns; and, inſtead of whole broadſides, with intervals between them, to keep up a conſtant fire without intermiſſion; from which he hoped to procure great advantages: for it is uſual

with the Spaniards, when they ſee a broad-ſide preparing, to fall down upon the decks, and to continue in that poſture until it is given; after which they riſe again, and thinking the danger to be for ſome time over, fire with great briſkneſs till another broad-ſide is ready; and therefore firing gun by gun rendered this impoſſible. The Centurion now approached the galeon a-pace, but ſeveral ſqualls of wind and rain often obſcured her from their ſight. However, when it cleared up they perceived her reſolutely lying-to. About one o'clock the Centurion being within gun-ſhot of the enemy, hoiſted her broad-pendant and colours; and the commodore perceiving that the Spaniards had till then neglected clearing their ſhip, and were throwing the cattle and lumber overboard, he gave orders to fire upon them with their chaſe-guns, to diſturb them in their work, and prevent their completing it, though he had before given general directions not to engage before they were within piſtol-ſhot. The galeon inſtantly returned the fire with two of her ſtern-chace; and the Centurion getting her ſprit-ſail-yard fore and aft, that if neceſſary, ſhe might be ready for boarding, the Spaniards in a bravado alſo rigged their ſprit-ſail fore and aft. The Centurion ſoon after came a-breaſt of the enemy, within piſtol-ſhot, when the engagement began in earneſt; and, for the firſt half-hour, Mr. Anſon over-reached the galeon and lay on her bow, where, from the wideneſs of his ports, he could traverſe almoſt all his guns upon the enemy, while the galeon could only bring a part of her's to bear. At the beginning of the action, the mats with which the galeon had ſtuffed their netting took fire, and burning violently, blazed up near half as high as the mizen-top. This accident which was ſuppoſed to be cauſed by the Centurion's wads, filled the enemy with the utmoſt terror, and alſo alarmed

the commodore, who was in pain, from the apprehenſion of the galeon's being burned, and from the poſſibility of his ſuffering by her driving on board him. The Spaniards, however at laſt freed themſelves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole heap which was in flames into the ſea. Mean while the Centurion kept her firſt advantageous poſition, firing her guns with great briſkneſs and regularity, while the galeon's decks lay open to her topmen, who, having at their firſt volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their ſmall arms, killing or wounding every officer, but one, that appeared on the quarter deck, and in particular wounding the general of the galeon himſelf: but, when the Centurion had continued in this advantageous ſituation about half an hour, ſhe loſt the ſuperiority ſhe had gained by it, and was cloſe along ſide the galeon, who continued firing briſkly for near an hour longer: yet, in this poſture, the commodore's grape-ſhot ſo effectually ſwept their decks, and the number of their ſlain and wounded became ſo conſiderable, that they began to fall into great diſorder; and the ſhips were ſo near, that ſome of the Spaniſh officers were ſeen running about with much aſſiduity to prevent the men from deſerting their quarters. But their endeavours were vain; for after they had, as a laſt effort, fired five or ſix guns, with more judgment than uſual, they ſubmitted; and as the galeon's colours were in the beginning of the action, ſinged off the enſign ſtaff, ſhe ſtruck the ſtandard at her main-top-gallant-maſt head.

This valuable prize, which amounted to near a million and a half of dollars, was called the Noſtra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by Don Jeronimo de Mentero, a Portugueſe, who was an officer diſtinguiſhed by his ſkill and courage. The galeon was conſiderably larger than the Cen-

The Engagement between the Centurion & the Acapulco Ship.

turion, and had 550 men, and thirty-ſix guns mounted for action, beſides twenty-eight pedreroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four-pounder ball. She had ſixty-ſeven men killed in the action, and eighty four wounded; while the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and ſixteen wounded; all of whom recovered except one. It is impoſſible to diſcribe the tranſport on board, when after their numerous diſappointments, they at laſt ſaw their wiſhes accompliſhed. But this ſudden joy was on the point of being as ſuddenly damped by a moſt dreadful accident, for the galeon had no ſooner ſtruck than one of the lieutenants, coming to congratulate the commodore on his prize, whiſpered him, that the Centurion was dangerouſly on fire near the powder room. Mr. Anſon received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion; and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the neceſſary orders for extinguiſhing the fire; which was happily done in a ſhort time, though its appearance at firſt was extremely terrible. Some cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, and the blaſt had communicated its flame to a quantity of oakum in the after-hatch-way, near the powder-room, where the ſmoak of the oakum occaſioned the apprehenſion of a more extended and dreadful conflagration, and even the hopes of avoiding its fury, by eſcaping on board the prize had vaniſhed; for, at the ſame inſtant, the galeon fell on the ſtar-board quarter of the Centurion, though ſhe was happily cleared without doing or receiving any conſiderable damage.

Before night, Mr. Saumarez, the commodore's firſt lieutenant, ſent all the Spaniſh priſoners on board the Centurion, except ſuch as were thought moſt proper to be retained to aſſiſt in navigating the galeon, when Mr. Anſon learned from ſome of the priſoners, that the other Manilla ſhip which

he had the year before kept in the harbour of Acapulco, had ſet ſail much earlier than uſual, and had probably reached the port of Manilla ſome time before the Centurion arrived off Cape Eſpiritu Santo; ſo that, notwithſtanding Mr. Anſon's preſent ſucceſs, he had reaſon to regret his loſs of time at Macao which had prevented his taking both theſe rich prizes.

The commodore ordered the treaſure to be immediately removed into the Centurion, and was under much concern about ſecuring the priſoners, their numbers amounting to double the number of his own men: which being done the commodore reſolved to turn to the river of Canton; and, on the 11th of July, came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

The particulars of the cargo of the galeon were by this time aſcertained; and ſhe was found to have on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 oz. of virgin ſilver, beſides ſome cochineal, and a few other commodities; whence it appears that the whole treaſure taken from the Spaniards by the Centurion, was not much ſhort of 400,000l. independant of the ſhips and merchandize which ſhe had either burned or deſtroyed; which amounted to above 600,000l. more: ſo that the whole damage done the enemy by Mr. Anſon's ſquadron exceeded a million ſterling, beſides the great expence of the court of Spain in fitting out Pizarro, and the loſs of the men of war employed in that expedition.

On the 14th of July, the Centurion caſt anchor ſhort off Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow paſſage that forms the mouth of that river, and propoſed to run through it the next day as far as Tiger iſland, where there is a very ſafe road: but while the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat was ſent by the mandarine, who commands the forts at Bocca Tigris, to enquire what the

ſhips were, and whence they came. Mr. Anſon told the officers, that his own ſhip was a man of war belonging to the king of Great-Britain, and the other a prize he had taken. That he was going into Canton river to ſhelter himſelf againſt the approaching hurricanes, and that he ſhould ſail for England as ſoon as the monſoon ſhifted. The officer then deſired an account of his force, which he was to ſend to the governor of Canton; but being told that there were in the Centurion between there and four hundred barrels of powder, and four hundred firelocks, he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and appeared terrified at the bare recital, ſaying, That no ſhips ever came into Canton river armed in that manner, and ſeemed amazed at Mr. Anſon's expecting to be exempted from all the duties paid to the Emperor by the ſhips that enter his ports; and it is ſuppoſed that he gave private directions to the Chineſe pilot not to carry the commodore through the Bocca Tigris.

The narrow paſſage, called the Bocca Tigris, is little more than muſket-ſhot over, and formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort: that on the ſtarboard ſide being a battery on the water's edge, with eighteen embraſures, but no more than twelve iron cannon mounted, which ſeemed to be four or ſix pounders. The fort on the larboard ſide is a large caſtle, ſituated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furniſhed with more than eight or ten cannon, which did not ſeem to exceed ſix pounders. Theſe defences the Chineſe had imagined ſufficient to prevent an enemy from forcing his way through, but would have been incapable of giving any obſtruction to Mr. Anſon's paſſage. However, the pilot, after the Chineſe officer had been on board, refuſed at firſt to take charge of the ſhip, without leave from the forts; but, it being neceſſary to get through without

delay, for fear of the bad weather, which was hourly expected, the commodore weighed on the 15th, ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, and threatened him, that if the ſhip ran a-ground, he would inſtantly hang him up at the yard-arm. Upon which the pilot, terrified by theſe threats, carried the ſhip ſafely through the forts, not attempting to diſpute the paſſage. The poor pilot, however, did not eſcape the reſentment of his countrymen; for, on his going on ſhore, he was ſent to priſon, and rigorouſly diſciplined with a bamboo. He, however, afterwards went to Mr. Anſon, to deſire ſome reward for the chaſtiſement he had ſuffered, of which he bore very evident marks; when Mr. Anſon pitying his ſufferings, gave him a handſome recompence. The mandarine who commanded the forts was alſo inſtantly turned out of his place, and carried to Canton, where it was expected that he would be ſeverely puniſhed, for ſuffering the ſhips to paſs by.

On the 16th of July Mr. Anſon ſent his ſecond lieutenant to Canton with a letter to the viceroy, to inform him of the reaſon of the Centurion's putting into that port, and that the commodore propoſed to pay his excellency a viſit. The lieutenant had a very civil reception, and was promiſed that the next day an anſwer ſhould be ſent to the commodore. Mean while Mr. Anſon gave leave to ſeveral of the officers of the galeon to go to Canton, on a promiſe of their returning in two days. When theſe priſoners got thither, they were ſent for and examined by the regency; upon which they had the honeſty to declare, that, as the kings of Great Britain and Spain were at war, they had propoſed to take the Centurion, and, with that view, had bore down upon her; but that the event had been contrary to their hopes. And being afterwards queſtioned as to their uſage on board, they frankly acknowledged, that the com-

modore had treated them much better than they believed they ſhould have treated him had he fallen into their hands. This confeſſion from an enemy had great weight with the Chineſe, who had hitherto conſidered Mr. Anſon rather as a lawleſs free-booter, than as one commiſſioned by the ſtate for the revenge of public injuries. But now changing their opinion, they conſidered him as a very important perſon. In the examination there were two circumſtances, which, in the opinion of the Chineſe, appeared extremely ſingular; the mandarines therefore aſked the Spaniards, how they came to be overpowered by ſo inferior a force, and how it happened, ſince the two nations were at war, they were not put to death when they fell into the hands of the Engliſh? To the firſt of theſe queſtions the Spaniards anſwered, That though they had more men than the Centurion, yet ſhe being ſolely intended for war, was greatly ſuperior in the ſize of her guns, and in many other articles, to the galeon, which was a veſſel fitted out principally for trade: and as to the ſecond inquiry, they obſerved, that amongſt the nations of Europe, it was not cuſtomary to put thoſe to death who ſubmitted, though they readily acknowledged that the commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them, and thoſe of their countrymen, who had been formerly in his power, with very unuſual courteſy, much beyond what was expected, or than was required by the cuſtoms eſtabliſhed between nations at war. With theſe replies the Chineſe were fully ſatisfied, and from them entertained very favourable ſentiments of the commodore.

In the morning of the 20th of July three mandarines, with a vaſt retinue, in a great number of boats, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the commodore an order from the viceroy of Canton, for a daily ſupply of proviſions, and for

pilots to convey the ſhips up the river as far as the ſecond bar. They alſo delivered him a meſſage from the viceroy, in anſwer to his letter; in which he deſired to be excuſed from receiving the commodore's viſit during the exceſſive heat of the weather, but that he ſhould be glad to ſee him in September.

The mandarines having delivered their meſſage, began to talk to the commodore on the duties to be paid by his ſhips; but he immediately let them know, he would never ſubmit to any demand of that kind, and that as he did not come to trade with them, he could not be deemed within the meaning of the emperor's orders: and added, that no duties were ever demanded of men of war by nations accuſtomed to receive them, and that he was expreſsly forbid, in the orders he had received from his maſter, to pay any acknowledgment for his ſhip's anchoring in any port whatever.

The mandarines then obſerved, that they had another affair to mention, and ſolicited him to releaſe the priſoners he had on board the galeon, obſerving, that the viceroy of Canton apprehended that the emperor his maſter would be diſpleaſed, if he ſhould be informed that perſons who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his ſubjects, were under confinement in his dominions. But though Mr. Anſon was extremely deſirous of getting rid of the Spaniards, he at firſt, to enhance the favour raiſed ſome difficulties, but at laſt ſuffering himſelf to be prevailed on, he told the mandarines, that to ſhew his readineſs to oblige the viceroy he would releaſe the priſoners, whenever they would order boats to fetch them off. This affair being thus adjuſted, the mandarines departed. A few days after two Chineſe junks were ſent for them, when the commodore diſmiſſed them all, and as they were carried to Macao, allowed them eight days proviſions for their ſubſiſtence while they fell down [illegible]

Though the commodore found no difficulty in purchaſing proviſions for the daily conſumption of his men, yet he was under much perplexity about laying in ſuch a large quantity, both of proviſions and naval ſtores, as would be neceſſary to carry him to England. There were indeed people at Canton who had engaged to furniſh him with biſcuit, and whatever elſe he wanted; but after being aſſured from day to day that all was ready, and would be immediately ſent on board, he had the vexation to be informed, that no order had been procured from the viceroy to furniſh him with naval ſtores, that there was no biſcuit baked, nor any of the articles which had been promiſed him in readineſs.

It is, perhaps, impoſſible to account for the inſincerity of the Chineſe in this particular. However, Mr. Anſon found by experience, that in artifice, falſhood, and avarice, many of the Chineſe are ſcarcely to be paralleled by any other people upon earth, which will be ſufficiently evident, from the following ſhameful inſtances of the fraudulent and ſelfiſh turn of temper peculiar to that nation.

While the commodore firſt lay at Macao, one of the officers who had juſt recovered from a fit of illneſs, deſired leave to take a walk every day upon a neighbouring iſland, which he imagined would greatly contribute to the recovery of his ſtrength. Though the commodore would have perſuaded him from it, yet the importunity of the officer prevailed, and the boat was ordered to carry him thither; but the ſecond day of his taking this exerciſe he was aſſaulted by a number of Chineſe, who had been hoeing rice in the neighbourhood, who ſtruck him with the handles of their hoes, till they had laid him on the ground incapable of reſiſtance, and then robbed him of his ſword, his money, watch, gold-headed cane, hat, ſnuff-box, ſleeve-buttons, and ſeveral other trinkets. Mean

while the boat's crew being without arms, at a ſmall diſtance, one of them flew on the fellow who had the ſword, and wreſting it out of his hands, drew it, and was preparing to run ſome of the Chineſe through the body; the officer immediately ordered him to deſiſt, thinking it more prudent to ſubmit, than to involve his commander in a quarrel with the Chineſe government, which was the more admired, as this gentleman was known to have an uncommon ſpirit, and to be of an haſty temper. By this means the Chineſe recovered the ſword, and carried off their whole booty unmoleſted. No ſooner were they gone than a Chineſe, who had the air and appearance of a gentleman, rode on horſeback to the ſea-ſide, and by his ſigns ſeemed to commiſerate the officer; but though he was wonderfully officious in getting him into the boat, he was ſhrewdly ſuſpected of being an accomplice in the robbery.

The officer, at his return, reported what had paſſed to Mr. Anſon, and he immediately complained of it to a mandarine who attended to ſee the ſhip ſupplied with proviſions. The mandarine found fault with the boat's going on ſhore; but he promiſed that if the robbers could be found they ſhould be puniſhed; it however plainly appeared, that he would give himſelf no trouble about them. A conſiderable time afterwards, one of the principal thieves was ſeen in a proviſion-boat along ſide the ſhip, and orders being immediately given to ſeize him, he was taken on board. The robber on his firſt being apprehended, expreſſed ſuch fright in his countenance, that it was feared he would have died on the ſpot, and the commodore declaring to the mandarine who attended the ſhip, that he would not deliver up the robber, but would himſelf order him to be ſhot, the mandarine inſtantly put off the magiſterial air with which he had at firſt demanded him,

and begged his releaſe in the moſt abject terms; when the commodore appearing inflexible, in leſs than two hours there came on board five or ſix of the neighbouring mandarines, who joined in the ſame intreaties, and offered a large ſum of money for the fellow's liberty. While they were thus ſoliciting, it was diſcovered, that the moſt aſſiduous mandarine, was the very gentleman who rode up to the officer, after the robbery, and who pretended to be ſo highly diſpleaſed with the villainy of his countrymen. It was alſo found on further enquiry, that he was the mandarine of the iſland, and had by the authority of his office, ordered the peaſants to commit that act of violence. Hence aroſe his extraordinary vigilance, and from ſome caſual hints it appeared, that he and his brethren, every one of whom had been privy to the action, were terrified with the apprehenſion of being called before the tribunal of Canton, where they would be immediately ſtripped of all they were worth. Mr. Anſon entertained himſelf for ſome time with their perplexity, rejected their money with ſcorn, appeared inexorable to their prayers, and gave out that the robber ſhould certainly be ſhot; but at laſt ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, and as a favour releaſed his priſoner, though not till the mandarine had collected and returned all that had been taken from the officer, even to the minuteſt trifle.

But the avarice of the Chineſe, notwithſtanding the good intelligence which ſubſiſts between the magiſtrates and the criminals, frequently prompts them to defraud the perſons by whom they are protected of the ſhare of the pillage. A ſhort time after the above tranſaction, the mandarine attendant on the ſhip being relieved by another, the commodore had loſt his top-maſt from his ſtern, which he had borrowed at Macao, and being extremely deſirous to recover it, offered a conſider-

able reward to any who would bring it again. Soon after he was informed by the mandarine, that ſome of his attendants had found it, and deſired the commodore to ſend his boats for it, which being done the mandarine's people received the reward. But beſides this, the commodore had told the mandarine, that he would make him a preſent for his care in directing it to be ſearched for, and accordingly gave his linguiſt ſome money, with orders to deliver it to the mandarine, but the linguiſt being ignorant that a farther preſent had been promiſed, kept the money himſelf. However, the mandarine confiding in Mr. Anſon's promiſe, took occaſion one morning to admire the ſize of the Centurion's maſts, and from thence made a digreſſion to the top-maſt, which had been loſt, and aſked Mr. Anſon if he had not got it again? Mr. Anſon ſoon perceived what he aimed at, and enquired if he had not received the money from the linguiſt; who finding himſelf detected, offered to pay him immediately; but this the mandarine refuſed, having ſome more important affair in view. For the next day the linguiſt being ſeized, was fined all he had got in the commodore's ſervice, which was ſuppoſed to be little leſs than 2000 dollars, and was beſides ſo ſeverely baſtinadoed, that it was a wonder he eſcaped with his life. But when the commodore, to whom he afterwards came a begging, upbraided him with his folly in riſking the ſevere chaſtiſement, and the loſs of all he was worth for the ſake of fifty dollars, of which he had defrauded the mandarine, he had no other excuſe to make, but crying in his broken jargon, "Chineſe man very great rogue truly; but have faſhion no can help."

There would be no end of recounting all the frauds, extortions, and artifices practiſed by theſe ſelfiſh people on the commodore. As the method of buying proviſions in China is by weight, they

uſed the moſt incredible methods, to augment the weight of what they ſold to Mr. Anſon. Thus a large quantity of fowls and ducks being bought for the ſhip's ſtore, the greateſt part of them preſently died, which alarmed all on board from the apprehenſion of their being poiſoned: but on examination it was found to be owing to their being crammed with ſtones and gravel to increaſe their weight; the quantity thus forced into moſt of the ducks amounting to ten ounces in each. The hogs bought ready killed, had water injected into them for the ſame purpoſe, ſo that a carcaſe hung up all night for the water to drain out of it, loſt above a ſtone of its weight. To avoid this cheat, the commodore bought the hogs alive, when it was diſcovered, that the Chineſe gave them ſalt to increaſe their thirſt, and having made them drink great quantities of water, took meaſures to prevent their diſcharging it. As the Chineſe never ſcruple eating any food that dies of itſelf, they practiſed another artifice; when the commodore firſt put to ſea from Macao, they by ſome ſecret practices contrived that great part of his live ſtore ſhould die in a ſhort time after it was put on board, and two thirds of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of ſight of land, ſhe was followed by many of the Chineſe boats, with no other view but to pick up the carcaſſes.

Towards the end of September the commodore finding that he was deceived by thoſe who had contracted to ſupply him with ſea-proviſions, and that the viceroy had not according to his promiſe invited him to an interview, found it impoſſible to ſurmount the difficulty he was under, without going to Canton and viſiting the viceroy, he therefore prepared for this expedition: the boat's crew were clothed in an uniform dreſs, reſembling that of the watermen on the Thames. They were

in number eighteen, and a coxſwain; they had ſcarlet jackets, and blue ſilk waiſtcoats, the whole trimmed with ſilver buttons, and had alſo ſilver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended that the cuſtomary duties would be demanded by the regency of Canton for the Centurion and her prize, and would be inſiſted on, previous to their granting a permiſſion to victual the ſhip, the commodore, who had reſolved never to eſtabliſh ſo diſhonourable a precedent, appointed Mr. Brett to be captain of the Centurion under him, directing him, in caſe he ſhould be detained at Canton on account of the duties in diſpute, to deſtroy the Centurion's prize, and then to proceed down the river through the Bocca Tigris, and to remain without that entrance till he received farther orders. On the 13th of October the commodore continuing firm to his reſolution, all the ſupercargoes of the Engliſh, Daniſh, and Swediſh ſhips came on board the Centurion to accompany him to Canton, for which city he the ſame day ſet out in his barge, attended by his own boats, and by thoſe of the trading ſhips, which were ſent to augment his retinue. As he paſſed by Wampo, where the European veſſels lay, he was ſaluted by all of them, except the French, and the ſame evening arrived ſafe at Canton.

The commodore on his arrival at that city was viſited by the principal Chineſe merchants, who promiſed to inform the viceroy of his being at Canton; but the next day pretended that his excellency was ſo buſy, that there was no getting admittance to him. They then prepoſſeſſed the ſupercargoes of the Engliſh ſhips, with a fear of being embroiled with the government, and of ſuffering in their intereſts; when, to quiet the uneaſineſs of the ſupercargoes, Mr. Anſon agreed not to take any immediate ſtep for getting admittance to the viceroy, provided the Chineſe, who con-

tracted to furniſh his proviſions would let him ſee that his bread was baked, his meat ſalted, and his ſtores prepared with the utmoſt diſpatch; but notwithſtanding the equity of theſe conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged, nor would the Chineſe agree to the propoſal, until the commodore had conſented to pay for every article before it was put in hand. While the ſtores and proviſions were getting ready, the merchants entertained Mr. Anſon with accounts of their various endeavours to procure a licence from the viceroy, and their frequent diſappointments. But at length every thing being completed and ready to be ſhipped, he reſolved to demand an audience of the viceroy, as he found that without this ceremony, it would be difficult to obtain permiſſion to take his ſtores on board. Mr. Anſon therefore ſent one of his officers to the mandarine who commanded the guard of the principal gate of Canton, with a letter directed to the viceroy. This mandarine received the officer very civilly, took down the contents of the letter in Chineſe, promiſing that the viceroy ſhould be immediately acquainted with it, and that a meſſage ſhould be ſent to the commodore. Mr. Anſon had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter, but he happily prevailed with Mr. Flint, an Engliſh gentleman belonging to the factory, who ſpoke Chineſe perfectly well, to accompany his officer. He had been left at Canton when a youth, and was upon that, and many other occaſions, of ſignal ſervice to the commodore.

Two days after the above letter was ſent, a fire broke out in the ſuburbs of Canton. Mr. Anſon on the firſt alarm went thither to aſſiſt the Chineſe, attended by his officers and boats crew. When he found that it begun in a ſailors ſhed, and that by the ſlightneſs of the buildings, and the timorous aukwardneſs of the Chineſe, it was getting a-

head; but obſerving that it was running along a wooden cornice, which blazed fiercely, and would ſoon have ſpread the flame to a great diſtance, he ordered his people to begin with pulling the cornice down which would ſoon have been executed, but being told, that as there was no mandarine there, who alone has a power to direct on theſe occaſions, the Chineſe would make him pay for whatever was pulled down by his orders, he directed his attendants to deſiſt, and ſent them to the Engliſh factory, to aſſiſt in ſecuring the company's treaſure and effects, it being eaſy to foreſee, that no diſtance could be a protection againſt the rage of ſuch a fire, where ſo little was done to put a ſtop to it. All this while the Chineſe were contented with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they ſeemed to expect would check its progreſs. At laſt, however, a mandarine came from the city, attended by four or five hundered firemen, who made ſome feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houſes; but by this time the fire had ſpread prodigiouſly, and was got amongſt the merchants warehouſes. and the Chineſe firemen wanting both ſkill and ſpirit, were unable to check its fury, ſo that it increaſed ſo faſt, that it was feared the whole city would be deſtroyed.

In this general confuſion, the viceroy himſelf went thither, and a meſſage was ſent to the commodore to entreat him to afford his aſſiſtance, and to let him know that he might take ſuch meaſures as he thought prudent for extinguiſhing the conflagration. Upon this, the commodore went thither a ſecond time, with about forty of his people, who in the ſight of the whole city exerted themſelves in ſo extraordinary a manner, as in that country was altogether without example. They behaved with a boldneſs and agility peculiar to ſailors, and ſeemed rather animated than deterred

by the flames and buildings, among which they exerted themſelves: whence by their reſolution and activity, the fire, to the amazement of the Chineſe, was ſoon extinguiſhed, and the buildings being all on one floor, and the materials ſlight, the ſeamen, notwithſtanding their daring behaviour, eſcaped with a few inconſiderable burns and bruiſes.

This fire conſumed 100 ſhops and eleven ſtreets full of warehouſes, ſo that the damage amounted to an immenſe ſum, and one of the Chineſe merchants, well known to the Engliſh, was ſuppoſed to loſe for his own ſhare near 200,000l. ſterling. The principal reaſon of its raging with ſuch violence was, there being large quantities of camphire in many of the warehouſes, which produced a column of white flame, and blazed up into the air to ſuch a prodigious height, that it was plainly ſeen on board the Centurion, notwithſtanding her being at leaſt thirty miles diſtant.

While Mr. Anſon and his people were endeavouring to extinguiſh the fire, and the whole city were poſſeſſed with the terror of its becoming general, ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Chineſe merchants applied to Mr. Anſon, to beſeech him to let each of them have one of his ſoldiers, for ſuch they ſtiled his boat's crew, from the uniformity of their dreſs, to guard their warehouſes and dwellings, which from the diſhoneſty of the populace, they apprehended would be plundered in the tumult. This requeſt Mr. Anſon granted, and all the men thus employed behaved much to the ſatisfaction of the merchants, who afterwards highly applauded their fidelity and diligence.

The intrepidity of the Engliſh, in putting a ſtop to the fire, and their prudence and honeſty where they were employed as guards, was the general ſubject of converſation among the Chineſe, and the next morning many of the principal inhabitants waited on the commodore to thank him for his af-

ſiſtance, freely owning, that he had preſerved the city from being entirely conſumed, ſince they could never have extinguiſhed the fire of themſelves. Soon after the commodore received a meſſage from the viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience, which ſudden reſolution was owing to the ſignal ſervices performed by Mr. Anſon and his people on this occaſion.

The commodore was much pleaſed at having his audience fixed, ſince he was convinced that the Chineſe government would not have come to this determination, had they not reſolved to give up their pretenſions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him every thing he could reaſonably deſire. The commodore therefore prepared for this event, and engaged Mr. Flint to act as an interpreter in the conference.

On the day appointed, a mandarine came to the commodore at ten o'clock in the morning, to let him know that the viceroy was prepared, and expected him; on which the commodore and his retinue immediately ſet out. At his entering the outward gate of the city, he found a guard of 200 ſoldiers, who attended him to the great parade before the emperor's palace, where the viceroy then reſided, and where a body of troops, to the number of 10,000, were drawn up under arms, and being all new clothed for this new ceremony, made a very fine appearance. The commodore, with his retinue, having paſſed through the middle of them, was conducted to the great hall of audience, where the viceroy was ſeated under a rich canopy in the emperor's chair of ſtate, with all his council of mandarines attending him. There was a vacant ſeat, in which the commodore was placed on his arrival, which was the third from the viceroy, there being only above him the chiefs of the law and the treaſury, who in the Chineſe government precede all military officers. When the

commodore had taken his ſeat, he addreſſed himſelf to the viceroy by his interpreter, and began with mentioning the various methods he had taken to obtain an audience, the delays he had met with, and the inſincerity of thoſe he had employed, which had obliged him to ſend his own officer with a letter to the gate. The viceroy here interrupted the interpreter, and bid him aſſure the commodore, that the firſt knowledge he had of his being at Canton, was from that letter. The commodore then complained to him of ſeveral grievances ſuffered by the Eaſt-India company from the vexatious impoſitions of the merchants, and inferior cuſtom-houſe officers, and at length entered upon his own affairs, and informed the viceroy, that this was the proper ſeaſon for returning to Europe. That he wanted only a licence to ſhip off his proviſions and ſtores, which were all ready, and that as ſoon as he had gotten his neceſſaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton and ſail for England. To this the viceroy replied, that the licence ſhould be immediately iſſued, and that the following day every thing ſhould be ordered on board; then finding Mr. Anſon had nothing further to inſiſt on, he for ſome time continued the converſation, acknowledged, in very civil terms, how much the Chineſe were obliged to him, for his ſignal ſervices at the fire, and owned that he had ſaved the city from being deſtroyed; then obſerving, that the Centurion had been a good while on their coaſt, he wiſhed the commodore a proſperous voyage to Europe, after which the commodore thanking him for his civility and aſſiſtance, took his leave.

The commodore's proviſions were begun to be ſent on board, according to the viceroy's promiſe, the day ſucceeding the audience, and four days after the commodore embarked for the Centurion, and all preparations for putting to ſea were purſued

with ſuch vigour, that on the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and on the 12th anchored before Macao, where the merchants of that town purchaſed the galeon for 6000 dollars, which was much below her value; but theſe merchants inſiſted on theſe unequal terms, from their knowing the commodore's impatience to put to ſea, and ſhe being delivered up on the 15th of December 1743, the Centurion the ſame day got under ſail, and the 3d of January ſhe came to an anchor at Prince's iſland in the Streights of Sunda, where ſhe continued taking in wood and water till the 8th, and then ſtanding for the Cape of Good Hope, anchored in Table Bay on the 11th of March. This Dutch ſettlement is the beſt provided of any in the known world, for the refreſhment of ſailors after long voyages. The commodore continued there till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the picturesque appearance of the country, the healthineſs of its air, as well as with its extraordinary accommodations. While he ſtaid there he entered about forty new men, and the 3d of April, 1744, having completed taking in water and proviſions, put to ſea. On the 19th of April, the Centurion was within ſight of the iſland of St. Helena, but did not touch at it. In ſhort, on the 15th of the ſame month, to the inexpreſſible joy of the whole crew, the Centurion came to an anchor at Spithead. Thus after a ſeries of the moſt extraordinary adventures and the moſt dreadful ſcenes of diſtreſs, did they encompaſs the globe in three years and nine months.

THE

VOYAGE

OF

VASCO DE GAMA,

TO INDIA.

Admiral Vaſco de Gama, with three ſhips under his command, ſailed from Belem July the 8th, 1497, on a voyage of diſcovery. He diſcovers the Eaſt-Indies, and endeavours to eſtabliſh a trade with the natives. After a voyage of two years and two months he arrives ſafe at Liſbon.

WE have already obſerved, in the introduction to theſe volumes, that before the reign of Emanuel, king of Portugal, ſeveral ſucceſſive princes had made different diſcoveries on the coaſt of Africa, as far as the Cape of Good Hope. This laſt prince intending to proſecute theſe diſcoveries ſtill farther, cauſed three ſhips to be equipped for that purpoſe, and gave the command of them to Vaſco de Gama, a nobleman of great abilities, whom he raiſed to the rank of admiral. Theſe ſhips were the St. Gabriel, the admiral's ſhip; the St. Raphael, under the command of Paul de Gama, the admiral's brother; and the Berrio, commanded by Nicholas Coella, in all which were no more than 160 men. Theſe ſhips, attended by a bark laden with proviſions, ſailed from Belem on the 8th of July, 1497, and after being expoſed to continual ſtorms, in which they frequently gave themſelves over for loſt, entered a large bay, which the men called Angra de Santa Elena, or the Bay

of St. Helena, from their firſt ſeeing it on that Saint's day.

The inhabitants of this iſland were blacks, ſmall of ſtature, and ill-favoured. When they ſpoke it ſeemed as if they ſighed. They were clothed with the ſkins of beaſts. Their arms were oaken ſtaves hardened with fire, and pointed at the end with the horns of beaſts. They lived on roots, ſea-wolves, mews, pigeons and ſea-crows, with other beaſts and birds. The admiral immediately ordered ſearch to be made for ſome river; but without ſucceſs. However, they met with water the next day, when the admiral landed, in order to try whether he could get any intelligence of the diſtance between that place and the Cape of Good Hope. The admiral in his walks took a man gathering honey, and carried him on board; but none of the ſhip's crew underſtanding him, he was the next day well dreſſed, and ſet on ſhore, which ſo pleaſed his countrymen, that the day following about fifteen of them came down towards the ſhips, upon which the admiral went again on ſhore, carrying with him gold, pearl, and ſpices, but finding by the little notice theſe people took of them, that they were unacquainted with them, he gave them bells, little tin rings, and counters, with which they ſeemed highly pleaſed, and in return ſupplied their benefactors with plenty of ſuch proviſions as the country afforded; but this friendly intercourſe was of ſhort duration, for Fernando Veloſo, a young man, being deſirous of viſiting their towns, went to the houſes of the natives, where he was welcomed with great hoſpitality, and for his entertainment they had dreſſed a ſeal, which diſcompoſing his ſtomach, he roſe, and retired with ſigns of loathing and diſguſt, while the natives, inſtead of oppoſing his departure, attended him to the ſhore; but he ſuſpecting their intentions, no ſooner came within hearing of his

companions, than he called aloud for help, when ſome of the Portugueſe landing, behaved in ſuch a manner, as to terrify the natives, who ran affrighted to the woods. This behaviour made them conſider the Portugueſe as their enemies, and therefore, ſoon after returning with their lances in their hands, they ſuddenly ruſhed upon de Gama and his officers, who were ſtanding unarmed, and obliged them to retreat on board, after having wounded four of them, among whom was the admiral, who received a wound in his foot, but the Portugueſe were no ſooner on board, than they revenged themſelves with their croſs-bows.

On the 16th of November they weighed, and ſailed from St. Helena with a ſouth-weſt wind, and on the 18th in the evening came in ſight of the Cape of Good Hope, which they doubled on the 20th, ſounding their trumpets, and engaging in ſeveral diverſions, as expreſſions of their joy. As they coaſted along the ſhore, they had the proſpect of a very fine country, interſperſed with woods and lawns, abounding with numerous herds of large and ſmall cattle, and peopled with blacks, who reſembled thoſe of St. Helena. De Gama, having at length run ſeventy leagues beyond the cape, arrived at another bay, to which he gave the name of Angra de San Blas, near which is a ſmall iſland, where the ſhips lay to take in a ſupply of water. The land about this bay is very fertile, and abounds with elephants and fine oxen, uſed by the natives inſtead of horſes. There were alſo a multitude of penguins, and a prodigious number of ſeals.

A few days after their arrival, there appeared about ninety of the inhabitants, ſome on the ſands, and others on the mountains, upon which the admiral landed with all his men well armed, and drawing near the ſhore, threw upon the land little bells, which the negroes took up, and ſome came ſo nigh as to receive them out of his own hand;

when venturing on ſhore with his men, he exchanged ſome red night-caps for ivory bracelets. A few days after above 200 blacks came down with twelve oxen and four ſheep, and on the Portugueſe going on ſhore, they began to play upon four flutes, accompanied with ſeveral voices, which made no diſagreeable muſic. The admiral ſtriking in with this humour, ordered the trumpets to ſound, while his men danced along with the natives, and thus the day paſſed in mirth and feaſting. Not long after, many more blacks, men and women, came again with cattle, of whom the Portugueſe bought an ox; but perceiving ſome young negroes behind the buſhes, with weapons in their hands, the admiral ſuſpected ſome treachery, and therefore ordered his people to retire to a place of greater ſecurity. The blacks then went along the ſhore, keeping pace with the boats till they came to the place where the Portugueſe had landed, and then joined themſelves in a body, as if they intended to fight; but the admiral being unwilling to hurt them, withdrew in his boats, only ordering two braſs pieces of ordnance to be ſhot off to frighten them, at which they were ſo terrified, that they ran away in confuſion, leaving their weapons behind; but afterwards ſending ſome of his men on ſhore to erect a pillar, on which was the king of Portugal's arms and a croſs, the negroes pulled it down before their faces.

De Gama left this place on the eighth of November, and ſoon after met with a dreadful ſtorm. On Chriſtmas day they ſaw land, which for that reaſon they called it Tierra de Natal. After this they came to a river called De los Reyes, or, Of the Kings, from its being firſt ſeen on the day of Epiphany. Here de Gama left two men to inform themſelves of whatever was worthy of notice in the country, and to give him an account of what they learned at his return. For this purpoſe he

he had ſome malefactors with him, whoſe puniſhments were changed for theſe dangers. Here he dealt for ſome ivory and proviſions, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the blacks, that their king came on board.

On the 11th of January again drawing near land, the men went in their boats along the coaſt to take a view of it, when they ſaw a great number of men and women, who appeared to be quiet and civil people. The admiral then ſent one of his men who was well verſed in the languages of Africa, attended by another perſon, to pay his reſpects to the king, who received them with great civility, and diſmiſſed them with preſents. In return the admiral ſent his majeſty a red jacket, a pair of ſtockings, and a cap of the ſame colour, with a copper bracelet, which he received with pleaſure, and in return promiſed to give the perſon who brought this preſent any thing his country afforded, and invited the gentleman and his companion to his town. De Gama having given him leave, this gentleman whoſe name was Alonzo, went forward with the king, whoſe ſubjects beholding him on the road in his new habit, clapped their hands with ſigns of joy and admiration. On their entering the town, the king went round it, to give the inhabitants an opportunity of beholding his finery, and then taking Alonzo, to his houſe, ſupped with him upon a hen and boiled millet. Here many of the negroes came to ſee Alonzo and his attendant, and the next day they were ſent back with ſome blacks loaded with hens for the admiral, who returned them thanks, and called the place, The Land-of-Good-People.

The houſes of the town were all of ſtraw, and pretty well furniſhed; the females were more numerous than the males, for among twenty men there were forty women. On their arms and legs they wore copper bracelets, and pieces of copper

in their hair. Their weapons were long bows, with arrows and darts pointed with iron, daggers with hilts of pewter and ſheaths of ivory. They were ſo fond of linen, that they gave a large quantity of copper for a ſhirt, and ſo tractable, that they brought water to the boats from a river called Cobio, a quarter of a mile diſtant from the place where the Portugueſe took in water.

Departing from thence on the 15th of January, they proceeded along a low coaſt, full of very large and lofty trees, as far as Cape Corientes, or the Cape of Currents, proceeding fifty leagues beyond Sofala, without ſeeing that city. On the 24th they entered the mouth of a very large river, up which de Gama, with ſeveral of the men, proceeded in their boats;* the land was low like the former, and abounded in tall trees, loaded with a variety of fruits, and proceeding farther they found ſeveral boats with ſails made of palm. The Portugueſe were encouraged at ſeeing theſe people, who underſtood ſomething of ſailing, a circumſtance which they had not met with before on all theſe coaſts; the natives came in their boats to the ſhips without fear or heſitation, and behaved to the Portugueſe with as much familiarity, as if they had been old acquaintance. They were of a good ſize, but went naked, with only a piece of linen cloth hanging down before. The admiral treated them kindly, gave them ſmall bells and other toys, and talked with them by ſigns; for none on board underſtood their language. They afterwards returned in their boats with others, bringing proviſions, and more of the natives came along the water-ſide, among whom were ſome pretty women dreſſed like the men, each of whom had three holes in her lips, in which were three bits of tin; and theſe took ſome of the Portugueſe

* This country is now called Cuama.

with them to make merry at a neighbouring town, where they got their water.

On the third day two perſons of rank came in their boats to viſit the admiral. Theſe had their aprons larger than the reſt, and one of them wore on his head an handkerchief wrought with ſilk, and the other a green ſattin cap. De Gama gave them a courteous reception, invited them to eat, and gave them apparel with other things; but they ſeemed by their looks to ſet no value on them. However, it appeared from certain ſigns made by a young man, that they were of a diſtant country, and had ſeen as large ſhips as thoſe they were in; and when they were landed, they offered ſome pieces of calico to ſale. De Gama rejoiced at theſe happy tokens, and all on board were elevated with hopes of ſoon reaching the treaſures of India, wherefore, the admiral called this, The River-of-Good-Signs, and erected a pillar on which was carved a crucifix, and under it the arms of Portugal. Here they alſo refitted their ſhips, and endeavoured to cure their men, who were ſick of the ſcurvy.

They ſailed from hence on the 24th of January, and on the firſt of March deſcried four iſlands; from one of which came ſeven or eight ſmall boats that followed the ſhips, the men calling out and making ſigns to induce them to ſtay for them. As ſoon as they were at anchor, the boats came up with ſeveral people of a good ſtature, and dark complexion, clothed with ſtriped calico of ſeveral colours, which ſome wore cloſe to their knees, and others on their ſhoulders like cloaks; their heads being covered with linen turbans wrought with ſilk and gold. They had ſwords and daggers like the Moors, and brought with them muſical inſtruments called ſack-buts. On their coming on board they diſcourſed in Arabic, and the Admiral having ordered an entertainment to be pro-

vided for them, they eat and drank heartily, during which he desired to know the name of the island, together with the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and the exact distance from thence to India; to which they replied, that the island was called Mosambique, and was subject to the King of Quiloa, that there was a town in it full of merchants who traded to India for spices, precious stones, and other commodities; they let him know that he had already passed by the country of Sofala, which abounded with gold, informed him of the distance from thence to Calicut, and offered to steer the ships into the harbour, which was immediately complied with.

The town of Mosambique stands in 15° south latitude, and the country, which is rendered unhealthy by its numerous marshes, was inhabited by blacks, who lived in huts made of clay, and thatched with straw; but a great number of ships resorted thither for the convenience of trade, though at this time the power and wealth of the island were chiefly engrossed by the Arabian merchants, who used vessels fastened together with wooden pegs, instead of nails, and the sails were of mats made of palm-tree leaves. These Arabians made use of the compass; had sea charts that were tolerably accurate, and were furnished with several astronomical instruments.

The Sheik, and the rest of the people taking the Portugnese for Turks or Moors, visited the first ship that entered the harbour, but soon returned, because there were none on board who understood their language; but the rest of the ships having entered the harbour, the Sheik sent them presents and provisions, desiring leave to come on board, and in return De Gama sent him red hats, short gowns, coral, brass basons, hawks bells, and other things, which he made slight of, asking what they were good for, and why the

admiral did not ſend him ſcarlet? De Gama to prepare againſt his coming, ordered all the ſick men to be kept out of fight, and thoſe that were perfectly well in the reſt of the ſhips to be ſent to his, where they were put under arms. The ſheik appeared richly dreſſed; he was tall, lean, and dreſſed in a kind of ſhirt, which hung down to his heels, and over it had a kind of looſe veſt of Mecca velvet. On his head he wore a ſilk cap of various colours, trimmed with gold, and at his girdle, a ſword and dagger, the hilt of the former ſet with diamonds, and his feet were covered with ſilk ſhoes. He was attended by armed men, with drums and ivory trumpets. The admiral received him at the entrance of the ſhip, and conducted him with ſome of his people into the cabbin, while the reſt remained in the boats. De Gama apologized for his not ſending him ſcarlet, aſſuring him he had brought none with him. The ſheik and his company eat and drank very heartily; aſked, whether they were Turks, which he ſuppoſed they were, from the whiteneſs of their complexion, and deſired a ſight of their bows, and of the books of their law. The admiral anſwered, that he came from the Weſt, and belonged to a great kingdom bordering upon Turkey; but had no books of their law with them. He ſhewed them ſome croſs bows, which were ſhot off before him, and ſome armour that greatly raiſed his admiration. At this meeting De Gama had intelligence that the diſtance from thence to Calicut was 900 leagues, and that it was neceſſary for him to take a pilot from that country, to conduct him thither. Upon this he deſired the ſheik to ſupply him with two pilots, which he readily granted, and returned with them the next day; when the pilots conſented to undertake the voyage, upon his giving each of them thirty crowns and a coat, and one of

them was to remain conſtantly on board, while they ſtaid in the harbour.

This harmony was, however, but of ſhort continuance; for the ſheik or governor, no ſooner diſcovered the Portugueſe to be chriſtians, than his friendſhip was converted into averſion, and he began to lay ſchemes for deſtroying De Gama and ſeizing the ſhips. The Portugueſe were inſulted by the populace, and a plot was laid for the admiral's life, which he had the happineſs to diſcover; one of the pilots made his eſcape, and ſome of the people who went on ſhore, in order to wood and water, were attacked by ſeven veſſels, and would have been deſtroyed had not their companions in the other boats, come in time to their aſſiſtance, and by pouring in a volley of ſhot made the aggreſſors fly with the utmoſt precipitation. However the ſhips being in want of water, the admiral entered the harbour of Moſambique a ſecond time, and ſending the boats, took it away by force, while the moors kept at a diſtance for fear of the ordnance.

On the 24th of March one of the natives braving the fleet from the ſhore, the admiral to revenge this inſult, and the other injuries he had ſuffered, manned out the boats, in which he cauſed ſome ordnance to be placed, and after driving a body of men from the ſhore who came to oppoſe his landing, and taking a few of them priſoners, among whom one of them happened to be a pilot, he deſtroyed the town with his great guns, and obliged the inhabitants to fly into the country.

De Gama finding that his ſtaying longer here would be attended with great danger, now ſteered to another iſland at four miles diſtance, and from thence ſailed to Quiloa; but being forced by contrary winds and tempeſtuous weather to return, an Arabian, with his ſon deſired to be carried to Melinda, in his way to Mecca, from whence he

came as a pilot, to which the admiral readily conſented, his brother having ſeized another pilot at Moſambique; the weather no ſooner became favourable, than they again put out to ſea, and proceeded to Mombaſſa, a city which the pilots obſerved was chiefly inhabited by chriſtians.

They arrived at that city on the 27th of April; but as the ſhips lay without the bar, a bark approached them in the night, with about 100 men in Turkiſh habits, armed with ſcimitars and bucklers, and would have boarded them, had they not been prevented by the admiral's giving orders that no more than four ſhould be admitted. Theſe four ſeemed by their dreſs to be above the common rank, and theſe he obliged to lay aſide their arms before they came, excuſing his precaution by obſerving, that he was a ſtranger to the coaſt. He, however, entertained them in a very handſome manner, on which they told him that the king being informed of his arrival, had ſent them with compliments of congratulation, and promiſed to load his ſhips with ſpices; obſerving that there were many chriſtians on the iſland, which agreeing with the report of the pilots, he readily believed what they told him. The next day the king ſent to compliment the admiral, and made him a preſent of fruit. Theſe deputies told him there were many chriſtians in the place, and that they themſelves were of that number. They adviſed him to approach the city, and come to an anchor in the harbour, where the king could more conveniently give the Portugueſe freſh proofs of his inclination to ſerve them. The admiral believing them to be ſincere, expreſſed his acknowledgments, and treating them very kindly, promiſed to comply with his majeſty's requeſt. He ſet on ſhore two of his exiles with preſents to the king, who treated them with the utmoſt hoſpitality, and ordered ſome of the natives to ſhew them

the city. In their way they ſaw many priſoners in irons, and were carried to the houſe of two merchants of India, who were chriſtians, after which the king ſent them back with ſamples of corn and ſpices, bidding them tell the admiral, that he might have what quantity he pleaſed for gold, ſilver, amber, and other commodities, at a leſs price than any where elſe.

It was immediately reſolved to accept of this offer of ſpices, and the next morning at flood they prepared to enter the harbour; but the admiral's ſhip ſtriking on a ſhoal, he again caſt anchor, upon which, the natives who were on board went into their boat, and at the ſame inſtant the two pilots jumped into the ſea, and were taken up by the natives, who could not be prevailed upon to return and deliver them. This naturally gave the admiral a diſtruſt of the king at Mombaſſa, whoſe affected civility was only diſſimulation; for having heard of what had paſſed at Moſambique, he had reſolved to deſtroy the Portugueſe, while the ſhips were in the harbour, and two of the perſons whom the admiral had ſeized and brought from Moſambique, being put to the torture, by dropping hot bacon upon their fleſh, confeſſed that they had plotted the deſtruction of the ſhips, and that the pilots had eſcaped from the fear of its being diſcovered.

The execution of the project for deſtroying the Portugueſe, being thus prevented, the king immediately concerted another ſcheme for their deſtruction, which was alſo diſcovered. In the night the watch perceiving that the cables ſhook, at firſt imagined it was cauſed by ſome tunny fiſh, of which there are great numbers in thoſe ſeas, till ſeveral men were found ſwimming about, and cutting it with their ſwords, in order that the ſhip might run a-ground. Others had alſo got among the tackle of the fore-maſt of another ſhip; but on

their being diſcovered, they plunged into the ſea, and ſwam to ſome boats, that lay at a diſtance to receive them. The admiral being therefore convinced of the treachery of theſe people, reſolved to ſail immediately to Melinda.

Mombaſſa is an iſland ſituated near the continent, from which it is divided by a river that falls into the ſea by two mouths. The city was very large, and ſeated upon an high rock. At the entrance of the port was a ſmall low fort, near the water. The houſes were built with ſtone; the ceilings wrought in figures, with a compoſition like plaiſter of Paris, and the ſtreets made a good appearance. The inhabitants were of different complexions, ſome being much leſs ſwarthy than others. They were richly dreſſed, eſpecially the women, who wore ſilk gowns, adorned with gold and jewels. A great trade was carried on for various ſorts of merchandize, and the harbour was continually full of ſhips. Here they found plenty of proviſions, as millet, rice, cattle, and fowls, which were all very fat, and their ſheep, which were very fine, had no tails; from the main-land were alſo brought ivory-ware and honey. The iſland was very pleaſant, and afforded excellent water. It was full of orchards, and planted with oranges, lemons, citrons, India figs and pomegranates.

The admiral having got clear of the bay, left Mombaſſa on the 13th, and ſoon after chaſed two ſambucos, or ſmall pinnaces, one of which he took, with ſeventeen men on board, and a conſiderable quantity of gold and ſilver, and the ſame day reached Melinda, which is eighteen leagues from Mombaſſa, and ſituated in 3°. ſouth latitude. The city is ſeated on the plaineſt part of a rocky coaſt, and encompaſſed with palms, and woods of fruit-trees, amongſt which the oranges excel, on account of their ſize and goodneſs. The inhabitants had plenty of proviſions, as millet, rice, ſheep and

poultry, which were very good, and remarkably cheap. The city was large, with handſome ſtreets and houſes, built with ſtone, ſeveral ſtories high, with terraces on the top. The natives of the country were very ſwarthy; they had curled hair, and were ſtrong and well proportioned. They wore turbans wrought with ſilk and gold, and from the waiſt downwards were clothed with ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, while others wore ſhort cloaks of calico; their ſwords and daggers were handſomely ornamented, they were left-handed, and being good archers, never went without their bows and arrows. The women were very beautiful, and were richly dreſſed in the ſame manner as the men, only they wore veils, which were laced with gold. The ſtrangers who had ſettled in this city were Arabians, and moſt of the merchants who traded to it, were of Cambaya or Guzerat; theſe brought ſpices, copper, calico, and quick-ſilver, which they exchanged for gold, amber, ivory, pitch, and wax. The king was a Mahometan, and ſerved with much greater ſtate than the ſovereigns of the places theſe ſhips had before viſited.

De Gama rejoiced at ſeeing a city that had ſome reſemblance to thoſe of Portugal, and anchored within a league of it. But nobody came on board for fear of being made priſoners; for the pinnace the admiral had juſt before taken, probably raiſed the belief of their being pirates. De Gama therefore ordered an Arabian priſoner who was one of thoſe he had taken in the pinnace, and had promiſed to get him pilots in this place, to be ſet on a ſhelf over againſt the city, from whence a boat came immediately to fetch him. This man being conducted to the king, he informed him, that the admiral deſired to enter into an alliance with him. The king returned an anſwer to the admiral's ſatisfaction, with a preſent of three ſheep, and a conſiderable quantity of oranges and ſugar-canes,

which was returned with a preſent of a hat, three braſs baſons, ſome ſmall bells, and two ſcarves.

The next day De Gama proceeded with his ſhips nearer the city, and anchored by four veſſels belonging to the Chriſtians of India, where the king ſent ſome perſons to viſit him, and to let him know, that he himſelf would viſit him the next day.

In the mean time the Chriſtians from the India ſhips, with the king's leave, viſited De Gama. They were well proportioned, and of a brown complexion. They wore long gowns of white calico; their beards were large, and their hair, which was long like that of women, was plaited under their turbans. They had ſome little knowledge of the Arabic, from their trading with the Arabs, of whom they adviſed the admiral to be upon his guard. On ſeeing a picture repreſenting the virgin Mary and ſome of the Apoſtles, they fell down and worſhipped it, for which purpoſe they afterwards repaired thither every day, ridiculouſly offering to the picture, pepper and other things.

The next day, in the afternoon, the king of Melinda came in a large boat, dreſſed in a gown of crimſon damaſk, lined with green ſatin, with a rich ſcarf rolled round his head. He ſat in a very handſome chair, neatly inlaid with wire, on a ſilk cuſhion, with another by him, on which was placed a hat of crimſon ſatin. Near him ſtood an old man, who held a very rich ſword with a ſilver ſcabbard. He was alſo attended by about twenty of his ſubjects richly dreſſed, with muſicians who played on ſack-buts, and two ivory flutes, eight ſpans in length, neatly made, with a little hole in the middle, on which they played. De Gama went to meet the king in his boat, adorned with flags, and attended by twelve of the principal perſons in his three ſhips. After many ſalutations, he, at the king's deſire, went into his boat. His majeſty viewed him and his men very attentively,

aſked him ſeveral queſtions in relation to the country he came from, the name of his king, and the motives which had brought him into thoſe ſeas. Theſe queſtions the admiral anſwered; after which the king promiſed him a pilot for Calicut, and invited him to take the pleaſure his palace afforded. De Gama however excuſed himſelf: but promiſed to call there at his return, and at the ſame time made his majeſty a preſent of the priſoners he had lately taken, at which he was highly pleaſed.

The king was afterwards rowed up to the ſhips, which he beheld with ſurpriſe, and was highly delighted with the firing of the ordnance, telling the admiral, that he never ſaw any men who pleaſed him ſo well as the Portugueſe, and he wiſhed he had ſome of them to aſſiſt him in his wars. At parting the admiral allowed two men to accompany him, and had his ſon, and an eccleſiaſtic, as hoſtages for their return. The next day De Gama and one of the captains of his ſhips went with armed boats to the ſhore, to have a nearer view of the city.

On the 21ſt of April, De Gama was viſited by a perſon of rank, and as he had not ſeen any body from the city for two days before, he began to be uneaſy, and to apprehend the king's being offended at his refuſing to land, and his ſuſpicions increaſed, when he found that this perſon, who came from the king, brought no pilot with him, of which the king being informed, he immediately ſent him a Gentoo, of Guzerat. This pilot, De Faria obſerves, was ſo expert in navigation, that being ſhewn an aſtrolabe, he took little notice of it, as being uſed to more conſiderable inſtruments, and it is ſaid that De Gama found a compaſs, charts, and quadrants, in uſe upon theſe coaſts.

De Gama ſet ſail from Melinda on the 22d of April, and reſolved now to quit the ſhores, which he had hitherto coaſted, and truſt himſelf in the

main ocean, under the conduct of this ſkilful pilot. In this run he had remarkably good weather, and croſſed the great ſea of 700 leagues, which lies between Africa and the hither peninſula of India, in twenty-three days. On the 17th of May they ſaw land, and on the 20th the pilot perceived the mountains of Calicut, and immediately informing the admiral, the latter was ſo tranſported with joy, that he made an entertainment for the whole crew, and ſoon after came to an anchor in an open road two leagues below Calicut.

On the 20th of May, 1498, the admiral came to anchor on the coaſt of Malabar, about two leagues from Calicut, and ſoon after ſeveral fiſhermen in their boats rowed up to the fleet, greatly admiring the ſhips. They were of a brown complexion and naked, except a ſmall piece of linen which hung before. De Gama gave theſe people a courteous reception, and bought ſome of their fiſh, after which they conducted him nearer to Calicut, where he caſt anchor without the bar, and immediately ſent one of his baniſhed men on ſhore in one of the fiſhermen's boats, to get intelligence of the place, and to form ſome knowledge of the manner in which he ſhould be received. The people immediately thronged about this ſtranger; aſked the fiſhermen many queſtions, and were greatly ſurprized at his dreſs, which was ſo unlike that of the Arabs who came from the ſtreights of Mecca. They, however, carried him to the houſe of two Moors, one of whom called Bontaibo, could ſpeak Spaniſh, and knowing him to be a Portugueſe, aſked, What brought him thither? and many other queſtions of the like kind, which being anſwered, Bontaiba ſaid that he was acquainted with the Portugueſe at Tunis, whence he came; but could not conceive how any Portugueſe ſhips could come thither. He then gave the man ſome

refreſhment, and went with him to ſee the admiral, whom he no ſooner ſaw, than he cried aloud in Spaniſh, "Good luck! good luck! Many "rubies, many emeralds! Thou art bound to "give God thanks for bringing thee where there "are all ſorts of ſpices and precious ſtones, with "all the riches in the world."

The admiral and thoſe who were with him were ſo ſurpriſed at meeting with one who could ſpeak their language, ſo far from home, that tears of joy ſtarted into their eyes. De Gama embraced Bontaiba, and making him ſit down, ſeated himſelf by him, and aſked if he was a chriſtian; and how he came to Calicut? Bontaiba anſwered, that he was indeed a chriſtian, and had been chief contractor for the warlike ſtores which king Ferdinand had purchaſed at Tunis; and that he had arrived at India by the way of Cairo. He concluded with obſerving, that as he had on all occaſions been a friend to the Portugueſe, he would now continue to promote their deſigns to the utmoſt of his power. De Gama thanked him heartily, and promiſed to reward him nobly for whatever ſervice he ſhould do him, declaring, that he was overjoyed at meeting with ſuch a friend, and believed God had ſent him thither before him to give ſucceſs to his voyage. He then aſked Bontaibo ſeveral queſtions relating to the ſovereign of Calicut, to which he replied, that he was a prince of a very good diſpoſition, and he did not doubt but he would gladly receive the admiral as ambaſſador from a foreign king, eſpecially, if he came to ſettle a trade, and had brought any merchandize with him, ſince the king's revenues chiefly aroſe from the duties on goods: that his majeſty was then at Panane, a village ſituated near the ſea, five leagues from Calicut, and that he ought immediately to ſend his majeſty notice of his arrival, which the admiral did, and diſmiſſed Bontaibo with preſents.

The zamorin, or emperor, being informed by theſe meſſengers, that the admiral had letters to him from the king of Portugal, a chriſtian prince, he ſent to bid him welcome, and at the ſame time ordered him a pilot to conduct him to Padarane, where there was a good harbour for the ſhips, with orders for the admiral to go from thence by land to Calicut, where he would be ready to receive him. De Gama accordingly ſteered with the ſhips to Padarane, but would not enter too far into the port for fear of treachery. Here an order was ſent him from the cutwal, or officer for foreign affairs, with permiſſion to land whenever he pleaſed. Upon which De Gama calling a council, let them know that he intended to go and ſettle a treaty of commerce, and perpetual amity with the zamorin: to this his brother alleged, that though the zamorin and the natives, as they then imagined, were chriſtians, yet there were many Arabs among them, who were their mortal enemies, and would be ſtill more ſo from the conſideration of their coming to interfere in their trade, and therefore, as the ſucceſs of the voyage depended on his life, he thought it more adviſeable to ſend ſome other perſon in his ſtead; and in this opinion he was ſeconded by all the reſt; but De Gama declared, that whatever happened he was reſolved to go himſelf, alleging that it was his majeſty's intereſt to encourage traders, and that he had nothing to fear, as the inhabitants were chriſtians; but that in caſe any accident happened to him, they ſhould give themſelves no concern about his ſafety, but ſail directly homewards, to carry to the king of Portugal the news of their having diſcovered the Indies.

The next day De Gama ſet out in his boat, which was furniſhed with ordnance, attended by twelve of his officers, with flags waving, and trumpets ſounding. The cutwal waited for him

on ſhore, attended by 200 naires, or gentlemen of the country, and a multitude of people. He was received very politely at his landing, where there were two litters, one for him and the other for the cutwal, into which having entered, they were carried very ſwiftly on men's ſhoulders, all the reſt going on foot. At a place called Capocats, they reſted, and having dined on rice and fruit, they entered ſome boats, and ſailed down the river. De Gama and his attendants were afterwards conducted to a large Indian temple built of free-ſtone, and covered with tiles. Over the door hung ſeven bells, and before it ſtood a pillar made of wire, as high as the maſt of a ſhip, with a weathercock of the ſame at the top. At the entrance of this temple, they were met by four men, naked from the girdle upwards, and from thence to the knees covered with calico, and over the ſhoulder of each were three ſtrings tied under the left arm. They ſprinkled the company with a ſponge dipped in a fountain, and preſented to each, ſanders-wood powdered, to ſtrew upon their heads, and with this the Portugueſe made the ſign of the croſs on their foreheads. On the walls of this temple were many painted images, ſome with great teeth ſticking above an inch out of their mouths, and others with four arms, and ſuch frightful faces, that the Portugueſe began to doubt, whether it was a chriſtian church or not. In the middle was a little round chapel, over which was a tower, built with freeſtone, with a ſmall wire door, and ſtone ſtairs, to which they aſcended on the outſide by ſteps. In the wall oppoſite to this entrance ſtood an image, which from the darkneſs of the place, could not be diſtinctly viewed, and admittance was denied to all, except the prieſt, who approaching and pointing to the figure, called aloud Maria! Maria! when the cutwal and his attendants coming before the chapel, fell flat on the ground with their

hands before them three times, and then praying ſtanding, while De Gama and the reſt who took it for an image of the Virgin, fell on their knees and prayed; only one Juan de Sala who had ſome doubt, ſaid as he was kneeling, "If this be the "devil, I worſhip God," which made De Gama, and the reſt of the Portugueſe ſmile.

They now walked in proceſſion towards the palace, followed by a prodigious multitude of people; but at their entering the city, the preſs was ſo great, that they were almoſt ſtifled, and could ſcarce move forward, which obliged the cutwal to take them into a houſe, where his brother, who was a perſon of great diſtinction, met him with ſeveral naires, who were ſent by the zamorin to conduct De Gama to court. Theſe were preceded by trumpets and ſack buts, and one of the naires had a ſmall piece of ordnance which he diſcharged from time to time. After the coming of the cutwal's brother, the people fell behind with as much reſpect, as if the zamorin had been there in perſon. They were now attended by at leaſt 3000 men in arms, and De Gama was highly pleaſed with the manner of his reception; for turning to thoſe who were with him, he ſaid, "They little think in "Portugal what honour is done us here."

An hour before ſun-ſet they arrived at the zamorin's palace, which was very large, and made an handſome appearance, it being ſurrounded with a variety of trees, and accommodated with delightful gardens, adorned with fountains. At the palace gate they were received by ſeveral of the grandees, who conducted them through five large courts, with gates to each, attended by ten porters, who were obliged to lay about them with their ſticks to clear the way, and on their approaching the audience chamber, were met by the king's chief bramin, a little old man, who embraced De Gama, and conducted them all in, but the people preſſed

ſo violently to get in with them, in order to ſee the zamorin, that ſeveral were ſqueezed to death, and this had like to have been the fate of two of the Portugueſe, had not the porters laid on unmercifully to make room for them.

The hall into which the Portugueſe were conducted, was ſet round with ſeats, riſing one above another in the manner of an amphitheatre; the floor was covered with a rich carpet, and the walls hung with ſilk tapeſtry interwoven with gold. The zamorin, who was of a brown complexion, luſty, and advanced in years, lay reclined upon a ſopha covered with white ſilk wrought with gold, with a rich canopy over his head. He wore a ſhort coat of fine calico, adorned with branches and roſes of beaten gold. It was buttoned with large pearls, and the button-holes were of gold thread; about his waiſt was a piece of white calico, which reached to his knees. On his head was a mitre adorned with jewels; in his ears were jewels of the ſame kind, and both his toes and fingers ſparkled with diamond rings. His arms and legs were naked, and adorned with gold bracelets; and, in ſhort, his perſon was graceful, and his air noble and majeſtic. Near him ſtood a gold baſon on an high ſtand, out of which one of his attendants ſerved him with betel, which he chewed with ſalt and arece, an apple no bigger than an hazel-nut. There was another gold veſſel for the king to ſpit in, and a gold fountain with water to waſh his mouth. All preſent held their left hand before their mouths that their breath might not reach the zamorin, before whom it is reckoned offenſive to ſpit or ſneeze.

On De Gama's approaching the zamorin, he according to the cuſtom of the country, bowed his body three times, with his hands above his head; his majeſty looked upon him with complacency; but returned his ſalute in ſo ſlight a manner, that

the motion of his head could ſcarcely be perceived, then making ſigns to him to advance, he cauſed him to be ſeated near him, and the reſt entering and bowing in the ſame manner, he gave orders for their being ſeated oppoſite to him, and water to be brought for them to cool their hands, it being very hot though in winter. He then ordered a collation of figs and jakas to be brought in, and on their calling for water to drink, a gold cup with a ſpout was brought them, when being informed that the Malabars reckoned it indecent to touch the veſſel with their lips when drinking, they in compliance with the cuſtom, held it at ſome diſtance above their mouths; but not being uſed to that manner of receiving liquor, it either overcharged their throats, and made them cough, or falling on one ſide, wet their clothes, which made diverſion for the whole court.

At length the zamorin ordered De Gama, by his interpreter, to lay his buſineſs before his officers, who were preſent, that he might be informed of it from them, upon which the admiral let him know, that he could not with honour recede from the cuſtom obſerved by the chriſtian princes of Europe, which was to hear ambaſſadors themſelves, in the preſence of only a few of their counſellors. The zamorin, ſaid, that he approved that cuſtom, and ordering De Gama to be conducted into another apartment, which was like the firſt, followed by only his interpreter, his chief bramin, his betel ſerver, and the comptroller of the houſhold. Being ſeated on a ſopha, he aſked the admiral what country he came from, and the occaſion of his coming, to which he anſwered, that he was ambaſſador from the king of Portugal, the greateſt monarch for power and riches in all the weſt, who having heard that there were chriſtian kings in the Indies, of whom the king of Calicut was reported to be the chief, he

had thought fit to ſend an ambaſſador to ſettle a trade and friendſhip with him, and that the predeceſſors of the king his maſter, had for the ſpace of three-ſcore years attempted to diſcover India by ſea; but that none of his captains had till now, been able to accompliſh that deſign. In confirmation of the truth of what he advanced, he promiſed to produce the letters of his king at the next audience, and obſerved, that he had orders to tell his majeſty, that the king his maſter was his friend and brother; and hoped, that if his majeſty accepted of his friendſhip, he would ſend his ambaſſador to Portugal to confirm it. The Zamorin replied, that nothing could be more agreeable to him than ſuch an alliance, and then aſked ſeveral queſtions, in relation to the king's power; the diſtance between Calicut and Portugal, and how long he had been on his voyage. Theſe queſtions the admiral anſwered. But it being now late, and he chuſing to lodge in a houſe by himſelf, and not with either the Indians or the Chriſtians, ordered his factor, who was an Indian, to go with him, and provide whatever he ſhould have occaſion for: he was alſo accompanied by the cutwal and his attendants, but there falling a heavy rain, they were forced to ſhelter themſelves at the factor's who would have lent him a horſe; but as he had no ſaddle, he choſe rather to go on foot to his lodging, whither his men had already carried his baggage.

Thus every thing ſeemed to offer De Gama the faireſt proſpect for promoting the glory and advantage of his nation, but he was even now on the brink of ſeeing them raviſhed from him. Formidable rivals roſe up againſt him. Mahometaniſm had followed the Tartars to the Indies, when they took poſſeſſion of theſe vaſt countries, and was as predominant there as Paganiſm. The declared hatred that the Muſſelmans then bore

to the Chriſtians, animated them againſt the Chriſtians; and beſides, the Arabs carrying on a very conſiderable commerce in the countries of Mogul and Malabar, to which they came from the coaſts of Africa, Arabia, and Perſia; and being the ſole depoſitaries of the riches of the Indies, they brought them to Europe, whence they drew immenſe profits; and the fear of being ſupplanted, made them conſpire the deſtruction of the Portugueſe.

The next morning the admiral reſolving to make the zamorin a preſent, ſent for the cutwal and the factor to ſee it. It conſiſted of four pieces of ſcarlet, ſix hats, four branches of coral, a parcel of braſs, a cheſt of ſugar, two barrels of oil, and two of honey. At the ſight of theſe things the factor and cutwal laughed, ſaying, that it was not a preſent fit for the zamorin, and that the pooreſt merchant who came to that port gave a better. In ſhort that if he would make a preſent it muſt be in gold. De Gama replied, with ſome reſentment, that if he had come there to trade he would have brought gold; but he was no merchant, but an ambaſſador, and that the preſent was from himſelf, and not from the king his maſter, who on hearing of the zamorin's greatneſs would ſend him a preſent worthy his acceptance. They replied, that it might be ſo, but that it was cuſtomary for every ſtranger who came to ſpeak with the zamorin, to make him a preſent ſuitable to his dignity, and abſolutely refuſed to give their conſent to its being carried to him.

De Gama being much incenſed, told them, that ſince he could not have their conſents, he would go himſelf and ſpeak to the zamorin. This they pretended to approve; but ſaid they had a little buſineſs in the city, and deſired him to ſtay till they returned, ſince the zamorin would not

be pleaſed at his going to the palace without them. De Gama promiſed to wait for them, but they did not return that day.

Theſe officers had indeed been gained over by the Arabs, who had received intelligence from the coaſt of Africa of what the Portugueſe had done there, and that they came only as ſpies to diſcover the ſtate of the city of Calicut. Upon which they conſulted how to deſtroy the admiral's credit with the zamorin, ſo as to induce him to ſeize his ſhips, and deſtroy all the men. The principal perſons among the Arabs repaired to the zamorin, and cautioning him not to be deceived by his new gueſts, aſſured him, that he was no ambaſſador, but a pirate, who had committed the greateſt outrages at Moſambique, Mombaſſa, Melinda, and other places on the coaſt of Africa, of which they had obtained intelligence from their factors. They alſo got the cutwal, who was in great credit with the zamorin, to ſecond their attempt, by alleging the poorneſs of the preſent, as a proof of De Gama's being no ambaſſador. Mean while they went to the admiral's lodging, under the pretence of giving him their friendly advice, and particularly recommended his making a preſent, in order to induce him to ſhew them what he had prepared, that they might have an opportunity of undervaluing it. He accordingly let them ſee it, when they told him, that the factor and cutwal had reaſon to be diſpleaſed with it, and adviſed him not to ſend it, leſt the zamorin ſhould think he did it to affront him. Bontaibo was of the ſame mind, and wondered how he could be ſo poorly provided. When De Gama being mortified at theſe ſpeeches, which he thought proceeded from friendſhip, alleged the ſame excuſe he had made the cutwal.

This officer and the factor did not come near the admiral till the next day in the afternoon, and on

his reſenting their treatment, turned the diſcourſe upon other ſubjects, and took him with them to court. As the zamorin's mind had been much changed by the repreſentation that had been made to him, he kept De Gama waiting three hours, and when he was admitted, told him with a look of anger, that he had waited for him all the day before. De Gama being unwilling to mention the true cauſe, leſt it ſhould introduce the ſubject of the preſent, alleged in his excuſe, that he had been fatigued with his journey. But the zamorin, immediately aſked how it could happen, that if he came am baſſador from ſo great and rich a prince, as he ſaid his maſter was, he brought no preſent from him, and that he could not tell what to make of an embaſſy of friendſhip, without ſuch a neceſſary credential. De Gama made the old apology, adding, that his majeſty might be ſure that his ſovereign would ſend him a noble preſent, in caſe he lived to carry back the news of his diſcovery. The zamorin then demanded whether his maſter ſent him to diſcover ſtones or men; if the latter, added he, why did he ſend me no preſent by you. But ſince, ſays he, you have brought me none, I hear you have a St. Mary in gold, and deſire I may have that. De Gama, a little confounded at his demand, replied, that the image he was told of was not of gold, but wood gilt; but as it had preſerved them at ſea, he deſired to be excuſed from parting with it. To this the zamorin made no anſwer, but aſked for the letters, one of which was written in Portugueſe, and the other in Arabic. De Gama ſuſpecting the integrity of the king's interpreter, deſired he might have thoſe who were Chriſtians; but none being to be found, he propoſed Bontaibo for one, who read the letter aloud, and as it was the zamorin's intereſt to encourage the reſort of merchants to his dominions, he ſeemed very well pleaſed with the letter, and af-

ſuming a more friendly countenance, began to enquire about the commodities of Portugal, of which De Gama immediately gave him an account, adding, that he brought ſamples of them all to ſhew his majeſty. He then deſired that he would permit him to go on board to ſend them on ſhore, and offered to leave four or five of his men behind till his return. The zamorin replied, there was no neceſſity for his men's ſtay, and that he might bring his merchandize on ſhore, and ſell them to the beſt advantage.

The next day the cutwal ſent De Gama a horſe, but being without furniture, he deſired that inſtead of it he might have an open chair, which was ſent. In this he ſet out for Pandarane, accompanied by ſeveral naires. The Arabs now finding the admiral was going to his ſhips, and apprehending that he would not come any more on ſhore, haſtened to the cutwal, who ſtaid behind in Calicut, and by a large bribe prevailed on him to purſue De Gama, and detain him priſoner, that they might have an opportunity of killing him, promiſing to obtain his pardon of the zamorin for acting contrary to his orders. The cutwal therefore ſet out, and having overtaken De Gama, aſked him why he was in ſuch haſte, and if he was running away; to which he anſwered, that he was running away from the heat. On their arrival at Pandarane, the admiral demanded a boat to go on board; but the cutwal earneſtly diſſuaded him, on account of the diſtance of the ſhips, and its being dark, and at the ſame time gave private orders to the boatmen to keep out of the way, by which means he was obliged to ſtay all night; but in the morning the cutwal, inſtead of bringing a boat, deſired him to order his ſhips nearer to ſhore. De Gama, however, inſiſted that he would give no ſuch order, ſince that would make his brother conclude that he was detained a priſoner, upon which he would

return to Portugal without him. The cutwal then replied in an imperious tone, that if he would not do what he demanded, he ſhould not go on board. De Gama threatened to complain to the zamorin, when the cutwal told him that he might go and make his complaint, but at the ſame time ordered the doors of his lodging to be kept ſhut, and ſeveral naires to ſtand guard with their drawn ſwords, while others were placed without to oppoſe the Portugueſe, in caſe they ſhould attempt to break them open. Fear, however, reſtrained the cutwal from laying violent hands on the admiral, and ſeeing that De Gama would not give him an opportunity of boarding the ſhips, by having them brought cloſe to the ſhore, he deſired that their ſails and rudders might be landed, which De Gama alſo abſolutely refuſed.

At that inſtant one of the admiral's attendants informed him, that he had met with one of his captains, who waited for him with his boats, upon which he ſent him back with orders privately to inform him of his condition, and to order him to return ſpeedily to his ſhip, to prevent their being ſurpriſed. But he had ſcarce put off from ſhore, when the cutwal being informed of it, ſent ſeveral armed boats in purſuit of him, though without effect.

The cutwal continued to preſs De Gama to write to his brother to bring the ſhips near the ſhore, and the day being ſpent in theſe diſputes, he and his men were put into a great yard encompaſſed with walls, under a ſtronger guard than before, which made him apprehend his being ſeparated from his attendants the next day. The cutwal, however, afterwards ſupped with the admiral, and wondered as much at ſeeing how patiently he bore his confinement, as at his reſolution in refuſing to comply with his demand. The next day he told De Gama, that it was the cuſtom for all ſhips on

their arrival at Calicut, to land both their goods and men, who were not to return on board till all were ſold. However, as ſoon as the merchandize was brought on ſhore from his ſhips, he would ſuffer him to return on board. Though De Gama placed no confidence in the cutwal's words, he told him, that he would ſend for the merchandize, provided he would furniſh boats, for that he knew his brother would not ſend the ſhip's boat while he himſelf was not on board. The cutwal conſented to this propoſal, in hopes of getting all the goods into his own poſſeſſion, upon which De Gama diſpatched two of his men with a letter, to let him know the terms they had agreed upon, and that, though he was confined, he was otherwiſe well uſed, directing him to ſend part of the cargo on ſhore, and in caſe he was afterwards detained, he ſhould think he was kept priſoner by the zamorin's orders, with a view of gaining time for arming his ſhips to ſeize theirs, in which caſe he adviſed him to return immediately to Portugal, to adviſe the king and council to ſend a ſtrong fleet to reſcue his ſubjects out of ſlavery, and ſecure the trade of a rich country ſo happily diſcovered.

Paul de Gama immediately ſent the goods; but let the admiral know that he would not return without him, and that if they did not inſtantly releaſe him, he would force them to it with his ordnance. However, the goods being landed, the admiral was ſuffered to go to his ſhips, but was no ſooner on board, than he reſolved neither to go on ſhore, nor to ſend more goods till thoſe already landed were ſold. This vexed the Arabs, who now ſaw him out of their reach, and endeavoured to do him all the miſchief in his power, by undervaluing his merchandize.

In the mean time the admiral ſent Diego Diaz, his factor, to inform the zamorin of his reaſon for acting in this manner, and of the injuries he had

ſuffered both from the cutwal and the Arabs. The zamorin ſeemed much incenſed; and promiſed to puniſh the offenders, and to ſend ſome merchants to purchaſe the goods. Accordingly, ſeven or eight Guzurat merchants, and a naire, were ſent with the factor, with orders to remain in the factory, and not to ſuffer any Arab to come near it. But the Guzurats being privately brought over by the Arabs, bought nothing, upon which the admiral ſuppoſing there were no merchants in the place, ſent to deſire the zamorin to give him leave to remove them to Calicut, which was granted, and the cutwal was ordered to have them conveyed thither, and a houſe provided for them at his majeſty's expence. De Gama, though he would not land himſelf, now gave his men liberty by turns, to ſee the city, where they were kindly received by the Indians, and ſold their goods with the utmoſt freedom. The natives, on the other hand, daily reſorted to the ſhips in boats, either to ſell proviſions, or out of mere curioſity, and were kindly entertained by the admiral's order.

Thus matters went on quietly till the 10th of Auguſt, when the ſeaſon for returning from the Indies being come, De Gama ſent Diaz his factor to the zamorin with a preſent of ſcarves, ſilk, coral and other things, ordering him to let his majeſty know that he intended to depart, and to deſire in caſe he was diſpoſed to ſend an ambaſſador to Portugal, that he might be diſpatched. He alſo informed the zamorin, that he deſigned to leave his factor and ſecretary at Calicut, with the goods that were there, till the arrival of the next fleet from Europe, and as a confirmation of his having been in India, deſired his majeſty would ſend his maſter, a bahar of cinnamon, another of cloves, and a third of other ſpices, which ſhould be paid for out of the firſt goods that were ſold.

Diaz after waiting four days was admitted to the preſence of the zamorin, who with a frowning countenance aſked him what he wanted. Diaz with great tremor delivered his meſſage, and was going to offer the preſent, when the zamorin refuſed to ſee it, and ordered it to be delivered to his factor, and then bid him tell the admiral that if he would go, he might, but that he ſhould firſt, according to the cuſtom of the port, pay him 600 ſharafins. Diaz, however, had no ſooner returned to the factory, than he was confined there, and proclamation was made through the city, to forbid any perſons going on board the fleet upon pain of death. However, Bontaiba had the courage to diſobey this command, in order to adviſe the admiral to be on his guard, and to let him know that the Arabs had perſuaded the zamorin that the Portugueſe were pirates, and came with no other deſign, but to carry off by force the merchandize brought to the city, and to pry into the ſtrength of the country, in order to return with a fleet ſufficient to invade it. This information was confirmed by two Malabars, and in the night a negro ſervant belonging to Diaz, came in a fiſhing boat to inform De Gama of what had happened. But though he was highly incenſed, he reſolved to wait a little to ſee the iſſue. Two days after four boys came on board, bringing precious ſtones to ſell, but though the admiral took them for ſpies, he ſeemed to be ignorant of what had paſſed, and ſuffered them to depart, in hopes of alluring on board others of more conſequence. This had the deſired effect, for the zamorin imagining from hence that De Gama was ignorant of the impriſonment of his factor and ſecretary, ſent people on board, to amuſe him till he could fit out a fleet, or the ſhips of Mecca ſhould arrive to take him. At length there coming ſix of the principal Malabars with fifteen attendants, he ordered them to be

ſeized, and ſent back two of the boatmen, with a letter in the Malabars tongue, to the zamorin's factor, demanding his factor and ſecretaty in exchange.

This letter being ſhewn to the zamorin, he ordered the factor to take the priſoners home with him, that he might not ſeem to know of their ſeizure, and from thence to ſend them to the admiral; but De Gama not ſeeing them arrive as ſoon as he expected, ſet ſail, and came to an anchor in an open road four leagues below Calicut, where having waited three days, he put to ſea almoſt out of ſight of land, when a boat with Malabars came on board, and told the admiral, that his people were in the zamorin's palace, and would be with him the next day. De Gama let them know, that they ſhould inſtantly bring his men, or letters from them, that if they returned without either, he would ſink them; and if they did not return at all, he would cut off the heads of thoſe he had ſeized. As ſoon as the boat was departed, he ſteered towards the ſhore, and came to an anchor over againſt Calicut.

The next day ſeven boats made up to the admiral's ſhip, in one of which was Diaz and Braga, whom the Malabars put into the ſhip's boat, and then withdrew to ſome diſtance, waiting for the admiral's anſwer. They brought a letter to the king of Portugal, which was written by Diaz on a palm tree leaf, and ſigned by the zamorin. It was expreſſed in theſe laconic terms: "Vaſco de "Gama, a gentleman of thy houſe, came to my "country, of whoſe coming I was glad. In my "country there is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, "pepper, and precious ſtones. The things which "I am deſirous of having out of thy country, are "gold, ſilver, coral, and ſcarlet.

De Gama returned no other anſwer, but that he had ſent back the naires, and would keep the

reſt, till all his merchandize were reſtored. The next day, Bontaiba came on board, and told the admiral, that the cutwal, by the zamorin's order, had ſeized all his effects, ſaying he was a chriſtian, and had been ſent over land by the king of Portugal, as a ſpy. He added, that he knew it was all done at the inſtigation of the Arabs, and not doubting, as they had taken his goods, they would injure his perſon, he had fled away to avoid their malice. De Gama immediately ordered a cabin for him, and told him that on his arrival at Portugal, he ſhould meet with ample amends for the loſs of his goods. There afterwards came three Almadias with ſcarves laid over the benches, and thoſe who came in theſe veſſels pretended that they had brought all the merchandize, and deſired that the Malabars might be delivered up in return; but the admiral perceiving that this was only an artifice, told them that he would carry the Malabars to Portugal to confirm his diſcovery, and would ſoon return to Calicut, when the zamorin ſhould know whether the chriſtians were pirates, as had been pretended by the Arabs, at whoſe inſtigation he had uſed them very ill.

Calicut is ſeated in the middle of the coaſt of Malabar, upon an open ſhore, where there is no ſhelter for European ſhips, which are forced to ride at anchor in the road; but thoſe of the country being made of planks, bound together with ropes, and flat bottomed, are eaſily brought on land. Though the city was at that time large, the houſes were made of hurdles, except the palaces of the zamorin and the temples, which were the only buildings of lime and ſtone; for none elſe, by their laws, were allowed to be erected with thoſe materials. This city was at that time, the greateſt mart in India, for all ſorts of ſpices, drugs, precious ſtones, ſilks, calicoes, gold, ſilver, and other rich commodities. The people are Pagans,

and pay an implicit obedience to their bramins or prieſts, in ſecular, as well as in religious affairs. The nobility are prohibited marriage, leſt the cares of a family ſhould deſtroy their martial ſpirit, yet they are allowed to keep miſtreſſes, provided they are of the ſame rank with themſelves; but if a nobleman is convicted of having any commerce with a woman of inferior rank, he is cut to pieces by his peers. The women of diſtinction may have any number of gallants, under the ſame reſtrictions, and jealouſy is a paſſion utterly unknown to them. The ſon of a nobleman does not inherit his father's eſtate; for as this promiſcuous commerce renders it uncertain who is the father, he adopts his ſiſter's ſon, who is educated at the king's expence, and furniſhed with proper maſters, who inſtruct him in the uſe of arms, which conſiſt of the javelin, ſcimitar, bow and arrows. They are inured betimes to danger and fatigue; but are not allowed to uſe their arms in the field of battle, till the zamorin has diſtinguiſhed them by ſome military honour. They think their blood tainted even by the accidental touch of a commoner, and nothing but the blood of the offender can waſh out the ſtain, whence the common people in the ſtreets are obliged to call aloud, and proclaim their condition, in order to avoid ſuch dangerous accidents. A man of mean birth cannot acquire nobility by the moſt illuſtrious actions, and a nobleman cannot forfeit it by the baſeſt crimes. The lower claſs of people can only marry thoſe of their own profeſſion, and every man is obliged to follow the ſame buſineſs as his father. Inſtead of paper, they uſe the leaves of the palm-tree, upon which they record all memorable events, with a ſharp pointed pen, and the leaves being reduced into a regular form, are tied up between two pieces of poliſhed wood.

De Gama immediately departed; but two days after being becalmed a league from Calicut, the

zamorin ſent ſixty tonies filled with ſoldiers to take the ſhips; however, a freſh gale ſuddenly ſpringing up, the fleet eſcaped, but was followed by the Malabars for about an hour and a half. It was very happy for the Portugueſe that they arrived at Calicut in the beginning of winter, when the king's fleet, which was very numerous, was hauled up; for had it been ſummer, when his veſſels are at ſea, their ſhips might have been eaſily deſtroyed.

Notwithſtanding this attempt the admiral diſmiſſed one of the captives at the firſt port at which he touched, with a letter to the zamorin, in which he mentioned the ſnares that had been laid for him by the Arabians, apologized for his carrying away the Malabars, and profeſſing the utmoſt regard for his majeſty; promiſed to labour to eſtabliſh ſuch a league between him and the king of Portugal, as would redound to their mutual advantage, aſſuring him that the priſoners he had taken away, ſhould be well treated, and ſent back with the next Portugueſe fleet to their native country.

De Gama ſtill ſteering along the coaſt, entered among certain ſmall iſlands, from one of which there came ſeveral pinnaces with fiſh and other proviſions. The Portugueſe treated the people kindly, and having given them ſhirts and other things, with their leave ſet up a croſs, and named the place Santa Maria.

On the 19th of September, a week after he left the laſt-mentioned place, the admiral anchored at ſix ſmall iſlands near the ſhore, where he took in water, and the people brought him hens, gourds, and milk; at the ſame time they informed him that the country abounded with cinnamon. Some Portugueſe were ſent on ſhore to learn the truth of this report, who returned with the news that they had ſeen entire woods of cinnamon trees. Soon after ſeven ſhips appeared in ſight, belonging to a pirate, named Timoya, who infeſted thoſe ſeas;

but De Gama ſoon obliged him to ſheer off, after having taken one of the veſſels, which was laden with proviſions.

From hence he proceeded to one of the Anchediva iſlands, which are five in number, where the admiral reſolved to careen his ſhips; but while the firſt was a-ground, there appeared two brigantines with their drums beating and trumpets ſounding, beſides five others that were near the ſhore. Theſe the Malabars ſaid were pirates, who under the colour of friendſhip, plundered all the veſſels that came in their way. Upon receiving this intelligence, he gave orders for firing upon them, as ſoon as they were in reach of his guns, and at this unexpected reception, they retreated as faſt as poſſible.

Among the multitudes that crowded to the ſhore to view the ſhips, came a perſon in a ſmall veſſel, who ſeemed to be about forty years of age, and of a different country; for he had on a ſabaco of fine calico which reached to his heels: on his head he wore a turban that covered part of his face, and at his girdle hung a ſcimitar. He no ſooner landed than he ran up to the admiral, and then to the other captains, embracing them as familiarly, as if they had been his intimate acquaintance, and having paid his compliments in the Italian tongue, told them he was a Chriſtian born in Italy, but that having been taken by pirates in his youth, while on a voyage to Greece with his parents, he had ſuffered a variety of misfortunes, and been hitherto excluded from the hopes of reviſiting his native country. He obſerved, that he had been forced to enter into the ſervice of a Mahometan prince named Sabay, the ſovereign of an iſland at about twelve leagues diſtance, called Goa; but that, though he was obliged to comply with the worſhip of the Mahometans, he was ſtill in heart a Chriſtian. He told the

admiral that he was the prime minifter and confident of his fovereign, and that hearing there were certain ftrange fhips at Calicut whofe men were cloathed from head to foot, and fpoke a language unknown in the Indies, he judged them to be Chriftians, and befought Sabay to give him leave to go and fee them; which he had not only granted, but ordered him to tell them, that whatever his country afforded was at their fervice; he concluded with defiring that he might have a cheefe to fend to a companion of his on fhore, as a token of his being well received. Though this gave the admiral fome fufpicion, he ordered him the cheefe with two loaves, which the ftranger accordingly fent on fhore, and continued talking to De Gama, afking him a number of queftions, that feemed to denote an uncommon curiofity; his being fo full of words increafed the admiral's jealoufy, and his brother afked fome of the natives who he was, when they told him that he was a pirate, and had been on board other fhips that had been there before. Upon this the admiral ordered him to be carried on board and whipped, to make him confefs who he was, and the defign of his coming; and this having no effect, he had the inhumanity to order him to be hung up by the genitals, and hoifted up and let down by a pulley. After the fourth torture, he confeffed that he was a Polifh Jew, and that Sabay having a defign to attack the Portugueſe fhips, had fent him to difcover their ftrength and manner of fighting. The admiral then ordered him to be confined under the hatches, and cured of the hurt he had fuffered, telling him that he did not defign to make a flave of him, but would carry him to Portugal, to give fome account of the country to the king, and being ufed kindly, he was afterwards baptized by the name of Jafper De Gama, and became very ferviceable to the Portugueſe on many occafions.

De Gama left this coaſt on the 5th of October, having firſt ordered the veſſel he had taken to be burned. He now ſteered for Melinda; but was expoſed to great danger by the length of the paſſage, occaſioned by ſtorms, calms, and contrary winds, by which means the men became ſo dreadfully afflicted with the ſcurvy, that there were not above ſixteen men fit for labour in each ſhip. This rendered all on board ſo diſpirited, that in ſpite of De Gama's perſuaſions, the other two captains reſolved to return to India; but a fair gale ſpringing up, brought them in ſixteen days within ſight of land, and the next morning they found themſelves before the city of Magadoxo, which appeared very large and handſome. This city, which is 113 leagues from Melinda, is walled round, and being at that time inhabited by Arabians, the admiral as he ſteered along by the coaſt, ordered the ordnance to be fired by way of defiance To prevent their overſhooting Melinda, the ſhips came to an anchor every night; but on their arriving at a village of Moors, within ten leagues of that city, there appeared eight large boats, filled with ſoldiers, ſteering directly towards the ſhips; but the admiral firing upon them, they ſoon tacked about, and fled. At length he arrived at Melinda, where he again met with a moſt friendly reception, and was ſupplied with refreſhments. He ſtaid there five days, and then ſailed, taking with him the ambaſſador the king of Melinda had before promiſed to ſend to Portugal, and as the admiral had not a ſufficient number of men to navigate the three ſhips, he burned the St. Raphael, commanded by his brother.

On the 27th of February, De Gama reached Zanjibar, a pretty large iſland in 6°. ſouth latitude, near which are two others, Pemba and Monſia, all of them very fertile, and the natives at that time carried on a good trade with Mombaſſa

for Guzarat calico; with Sofala for gold; and with the iſland of Madagaſcar for ſilver. The prince of Zanjibar, though a Mahometan, entertained the Portugueſe with great hoſpitality, and furniſhed them with a ſupply of fruit and freſh proviſions. De Gama ſteered from thence along the coaſt, and paſſing Moſambique, took in wood and water at the iſland of San Blas. On the 26th of April, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and then ſteered for the iſland of St Jago, but the two ſhips being ſeparated by a violent ſtorm, Nicholas Coello, who commanded the Berrio, being in haſte to carry the news of the diſcovery to the king, ſteered directly for Liſbon, and on the 10th of July put into Cuſcais. The admiral, on his arrival at St. Jago, left his ſhip to be fitted up, and hiring a caraval, arrived in the port of Liſbon in September, 1499, after a voyage of two years and two months, in which through ſickneſs and fatigue he had loſt above half his men.

The king, overjoyed at his return, ſent a nobleman and ſeveral gentlemen to conduct him to court, in the way to which, he paſſed through crowds of ſpectators and was received with extraordinary honours. For this ſervice, he was honoured with the title of Don, a part of the king's arms was added to his, and an annual penſion of 3000 ducats, was granted to him. Nicholas Coello was made a fidalgo, and had an appointment of 100 ducats, and, in ſhort, the king himſelf augmented his own title, on account of this new diſcovery, vainly ſtiling himſelf lord of the conqueſt and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Perſia, and the Indies. Upon this occaſion, public thankſgivings were made throughout the kingdom for the ſucceſs of the voyage, to which ſucceeded feaſts and entertainments, and thoſe who had long repreſented theſe deſigns as impracticable, now grew aſhamed of their oppoſition, and became the moſt zealous in recommending them.

THE

VOYAGE

OF

PEDRO ALVAREZ DE CABRAL,

TO THE EAST-INDIES.

Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, with thirteen veſſels under his command, ſets ſail from Belem, March 9th, 1500. They diſcover the coaſt of Brazil. Four of their ſhips are daſhed to pieces in a violent ſtorm, and all on board periſh. The fleet are ſeparated by another ſtorm, and one of the ſhips returns to Portugal. They arrive at Calicut, and ſettle a factory there. The Arabian merchants and natives deſtroy the factory; De Cabral in return, cannonades the town. After many other adventures, they arrive at Liſbon, on the 31ſt of July, 1501.

THE expectations of the Portugueſe being highly raiſed, with reſpect to the hopes of the great profit to be obtained by the diſcovery of the Indies; it was reſolved to proſecute theſe diſcoveries ſtill farther, and therefore, thirteen veſſels of different ſizes were fitted out, under the command of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, on board of which were 1200 men, eight Franciſcan friars, eight chaplains, and a chaplain-major, who were to begin with preaching to a people who did not underſtand their language, and in caſe that failed, were like the diſciples of Mahomet, to proceed to the deciſion of the ſword. Cabral received from the king the flag of the croſs, with the following inſtructions, that in caſe the king of Calicut readily conſented to the ſettling of a factory, he was

ſecretly to importune him to prohibit the Arabians from trading thither, and to promiſe on that condition, to import from Portugal, not only the ſame commodities, but much better of the kind, and, at a lower price. He was alſo to touch at Melinda, on the coaſt of Africa, in order to land the ambaſſador brought from thence by De Gama.

The fleet ſet ſail on the 9th of March, 1500, but having paſſed the iſland of St. Jago, the whole fleet was ſcattered by a ſtorm, when one of the ſhips having loſt moſt of her rigging, put back to Liſbon. Cabral having waited two days for her, proceeded on his voyage, and to avoid the coaſt of Guinea, ſteered to the ſouth-weſt; but on the 24th of April, to the inexpreſſible joy and ſurpriſe of the admiral, one of the ſailors deſcried land: The pilots could not perſuade themſelves that it was a continent, but ſome great iſland like Hiſpaniola, which had been a little before diſcovered by Columbus. They, however, cruized for a whole day along the coaſt, and then hoiſting out a boat, went on ſhore, where they ſaw an infinite number of naked people; but they were neither black, nor had curled hair like thoſe of Guinea, which was thought very extraordinary. Thoſe who had landed, ſoon returned in the boat to give an account of what they had ſeen, and that there was a good harbour, where the ſhips might come to an anchor. Upon this the fleet drew near to the land, and the commanders ſent out the boat again, with orders to endeavour to take ſome of the men.

Mean while the Indians retired to a hill, in order to watch the motions of theſe ſtrangers, who made ſo different an appearance from themſelves. But when the Portugueſe were endeavouring to ſend other boats, a ſudden ſtorm drove the ſhips from their anchors, and obliged them to proceed along the coaſt, till they at length found another good harbour, which they called Puerto Seguro, or

Pe Cabral discovering Brazil lands, &
causes Mass to be sung under a Tree.

Safe Harbour, and a boat going to ſhore, took two Indians, whom De Cabral ordered to be clothed, gave them ſmall looking-glaſſes, braſs-rings, and little bells, and then ſet them on ſhore. Upon this, a great number of people came forward, ſinging and dancing, ſounding horns of ſeveral ſorts, and leaping with all the expreſſions of joy. This encouraged De Cabral to go on ſhore with moſt of his men, and it being Eaſter-Day, they erected an altar under a tree, where they ſang maſs. The Indians drew near in a peaceable manner, and kneeling down, after the example of the Portugueſe, beat their breaſts, and imitated all the actions of the ſtrangers, after which they were as attentive at a ſermon that was preached, as if they had underſtood it.

The admiral immediately diſpatched a ſhip to Portugal, with advice of the land he had diſcovered, which news was highly acceptable at that court, and when the ſhip was gone, the men walked about all day diverting themſelves, and for pieces of paper and bits of cloth, the Indians gave them fruit, parrots, and other birds, remarkable for the fineneſs of their colours. The Portugueſe went to the towns, and thought the country fruitful and agreeable, well planted with maize, and producing great quantities of cotton; and, before their departure, a ſtone croſs was erected, in token of poſſeſſion, whence the Portugueſe called that country Santa Cruz, or Holy Croſs; but it afterwards changed its name to that of Braſil, from the name of the wood brought from thence. The admiral left two men there out of twenty, he had brought from Portugal, who were baniſhed, and were to be left in what places he thought fit. Theſe the Indians uſed very well, and one of them learning the language, ſerved a long time for an interpreter.

Brafil is a very extenfive country in South-America, and is not only fertile and pleafant, but fo healthful that the natives generally live to a great age. It is watered by many large rivers, and a multitude of delightful ftreams. The plains are fpacious and afford excellent paſturage, and the whole country is beautifully diverſified with hills and dales, woods and plains. The natives were at this time ſtrangers to letters, and bound by no laws but thoſe of nature; but when engaged in war, they choſe him for their general, who was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his bravery. None of the people had any beard, and many of them wore no clothes, while others covered themſelves from the waiſt to the knees with feathers of various colours, and alſo adorned their heads in the ſame manner. The women combed and dreſſed their hair, while the men were ſhaved from the forehead to the crown. Thoſe who affected finery, had holes in their ears, noſtrils, and lips, to which they hung ſtones of various colours, and the women adorned themſelves with ſmall ſhells, on which they ſet a very great value. They were ſo dexterous in the uſe of bows and arrows, that they ſeldom miſſed their aim, and theſe arrows being pointed with fiſh-bone, were capable of doing great execution. They lived principally upon hunting. Their boats were made of the bark of trees, and were ſo large that moſt of them would contain thirty men, and while ſome paddled theſe veſſels along, others beat the water in order to frighten the ſmall fiſh, which ſwimming up to the ſurface, were caught in large calibaſhes.

They were very ſuperſtitious obſervers of omens, and fond of ſorcery, which was practiſed by a particular ſet of men, whom they held in high veneration, and conſulted on all emergencies. Theſe perſons generally carried an arrow, at the end of which was fixed a calibaſh in the ſhape of a man's

head, within which they kindled the leaves of a certain plant which was probably tobacco, and ſnuffed the ſmoke up their noſtrils till they became intoxicated, and then rolled their eyes, and threw their bodies into various contorſions, which the deluded ſpectators conſidered as the effects of divine inſpiration, and during this farce they uttered an unconnected jargon, which was reckoned oraculous. Theſe kinds of wizards were conſtantly attended by crowds, who ſhewed their reſpect by muſic, dancing, and loud acclamations; and the moſt beautiful women, married and unmarried, were given up to their poſſeſſion.

The people lived in wooden huts thatched with reeds, and ſurrounded with a double or treble row of paliſades, and ſeveral families, connected by friendſhip, dwelt under one roof; each family having ſuch regard for the other, that they would ſacrifice their lives in their defence. However, the huſbands turned away their wives for very trifling offences; and if they found them guilty of adultery killed them, or ſold them for ſlaves.

They were in general ſlothful, and ſpent great part of their time in feaſting, ſinging, and dancing. In theſe dances they formed a ring; but inſtead of moving about, continued upon the ſame ſpot, beating the ground with their feet, and keeping time with their ſongs, which were compoſed in honour of their own exploits; and while one ſet was thus engaged, another ſupplied them with liquor, which they drank till they could ſtand no longer.

They never engaged in war with a view of enlarging their territories, but to defend their poſſeſſions, or to revenge an injury or affront; in which caſes they choſe a council of old men and elected a general, who viſited every houſe, and in ſet ſpeeches encouraged the men to behave with bravery: beſides their bows and arrows, they uſed

ſwords made of very hard wood; and carried on war by ſtratagem, rather than by open force. It is ſaid, that they immediately eat part of the priſoners, and that the reſt, who were reſerved for particular feſtivals, were in the mean time indulged with plenty of proviſions, and even gratified with the uſe of women; but when the day of rejoicing came, the plumpeſt of theſe unhappy creatures were brought forth, and his miſtreſs tied about his neck the rope by which he was to be led to the ſlaughter. Being then faſtened to a pillar, he was painted with a variety of colours, and adorned with feathers, and between whiles regaled with plenty of meat and drink, while the people feaſted in public, danced, drank, and ſung for three days ſucceſſively. On the fourth, his arms and legs were untied, and ropes being faſtened round his waiſt, the women and boys pulled him along towards a cave, while others pelted him with oranges; which he in his turn picked up and threw at them with an air of gaiety and unconcern; and when inſulted by the ſpectators, with his going to ſuffer the puniſhment due to his crimes, and that he would ſoon be ſlain, cut in pieces, and eaten; it was his uſual reply, that he had lived, and would die with bravery, and deſpiſe their tortures: if they ſlew him, he had ſlain their companions: if they feaſted on his fleſh, he had frequently regaled himſelf, by eating the bodies of the relations of his murderers, and that he had parents, brothers, or friends, who would revenge his death. On his arrival at a cave, the perſon who had kept him in cuſtody, painted his body, and adorned his neck with feathers, and then brandiſhed a wooden ſword over his head, dancing, ſinging, or whiſtling all the time, while the captive attempted to ſnatch the weapon, but was prevented by the women and boys, who pulling different ways, prevented his moving from

the ſpot on which he ſtood, till at length the executioner ſtunned him with ſeveral blows, and clove his ſkull. The women then threw the body on a wood fire, and having ſinged off the hair, the belly was opened, the entrails taken out, and the body divided into ſmall pieces, on which theſe barbarians feaſted with marks of the higheſt ſatisfaction. This was the character given of theſe people, by the writers of that time. A character which is, perhaps, extremely fabulous and unjuſt, with reſpect to their being cannibals.

The conſtant enemies of theſe people were a neighbouring nation, who inhabited the woods and mountains, and were of the ſame ſavage diſpoſiton. Among theſe laſt, murder was the only crime that was puniſhed, and when this was perpetrated, the murderer's relations were obliged to deliver him up to thoſe of the deceaſed, who put him to death. Thus juſtice and reſentment being both ſatisfied, the relations of both parties joined in performing the funeral rites, over the two bodies, which they interred with mutual lamentations; but if the aſſaſſin eſcaped, his daughters, ſiſters, or neareſt kinſwomen, were delivered up as ſlaves to the relations of the deceaſed, after which, all reſentment was buried in oblivion.

At length leaving the coaſt of Braſil, the fleet ſteered for the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 23d of May, met with a violent ſtorm, which was ſucceeded at night by a calm. On the 28th, they had another ſtorm; but a water ſpout appearing to the north-eaſt, and a calm enſuing, they not being acquainted with this phænomenon, conſidered it as a ſign of fair weather; but there ſuddenly roſe ſo dreadful a hurricane, that not having time to furl their ſails, four of their ſhips ran foul of each other, and were daſhed to pieces, and every perſon on board periſhed, in ſight of their friends and companions. Among theſe was Bartholomew Diaz

who had diſcovered the paſſage to the Indies, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. The other eight ſhips remained half full of water, and would probably have ſunk, had not their ſails been rent in pieces by the tempeſt, which continued two days, during which, all on board expected every moment to follow the fate of their companions. But on the third day the wind abating, they began to hope that all was over, when the wind veering from the ſouth-weſt to the eaſt and north-eaſt, began to blow with greater fury than ever, and the waves to ſwell as high as mountains. The horrors of this dreadful tempeſt laſted twenty days together: but at length the winds abating, they found they had paſſed the Cape of Good Hope. During the ſtorm, four of the ſhips ſeparated from the reſt: but ſome days after, they all joined company, except one, which put back to Portugal; however, before her arrival, the crew were reduced by hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, to ſix men.

The admiral fell in with the coaſt of Africa in 27°. ſouth latitude, when he deſcried a pleaſant country that abounded with cattle, it was ſhaded with trees, and watered with very very fine rivers. But the natives being unwilling to furniſh him with proviſions, or to have any correſpondence with him, he cruized along the coaſt, till coming in ſight of two iſlands near the continent, he obſerved two ſhips at anchor; but the men on board no ſooner perceived the Portugueſe fleet, than ſlipping their cables, they crowded all their ſails, to make their eſcape. However, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts they were overtaken; but the admiral being informed that they belonged to a prince related to the king of Melinda, and were come from the gold mines of Sofala, he diſmiſſed them without touching the gold and merchandize they had on board.

Being arrived at Moſambique, he took in a ſupply of water, and freſh proviſions, and having engaged a pilot to ſteer the fleet to Quiloa, continued his voyage in ſight of ſeveral well cultivated iſlands, and at length arrived at that city. Being come to an anchor in the port, he ſent a meſſage to the king, whoſe name was Ibrahim, to inform him, that he had letters for him from his Portugueſe majeſty, containing proffers of alliance and friendſhip, and that as he himſelf was forbid to go on ſhore by the the expreſs orders of his royal maſter, he hoped his majeſty would allow him an interview upon the water. Ibrahim received his meſſengers in a very courteous manner, and inſtantly ſent a promiſe of meeting him the next day. He accordingly appeared upon the water in a veſſel richly adorned, attended by a number of perſons clothed in ſilk and fine cotton, and armed with ſwords and daggers, the hilts of which were ſet with diamonds, while the harbour reſounded with the muſic of flutes and trumpets. On the other hand, Cabral ſaluted his majeſty with cannon, and ordering all his officers, who were dreſſed in the richeſt manner, to attend him in their boats, proceeded in his own barge to the veſſel, in which the king was ſeated. He then ſaluted his majeſty with the utmoſt reſpect, delivered Emanuel's letters, written in Arabic, and communicated the particulars of his embaſſy, which the king received with apparent pleaſure, and ſaid, that he ſhould from thence forward conſider Emanuel as his brother, and ſtudy to promote his intereſt. It was alſo agreed, that the admiral ſhould the next day ſend a perſon on ſhore to confirm this treaty, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe an advantageous and laſting alliance, when theſe agreeable proſpects were deſtroyed by the artful inſinuations of the Arabian merchants, who

repreſented the Portugueſe as a parcel of blood thirſty pirates, who under the cloak of friendſhip would deprive the king of all his poſſeſſions, and with the utmoſt cruelty ravage his whole country. Upon theſe inſinuatious, Ibrahim naturally laid aſide all thoughts of entering into an alliance with the Portugueſe, and immediately began to put the city in a poſture of defence; which being communicated to De Cabral by the king of Melinda's brother, who was at that time at Quiloa, he reſolved to proſecute his voyage immediately.

The dominions of Ibrahim extended near 400 leagues along the coaſt, and reached from Cape Corientes almoſt as far as Mombaſſa. This extent of country is very populous and full of towns, and it had a great number of tributary iſlands on its coaſts. The king and all his people were Mahometans; though ſome were entirely black, and the others of a tawney complexion, and their dreſs reſembled that of the Turks and Arabs. The city of Quiloa was a place of great trade for Sofala gold, for which there was a great reſort of merchants from Arabia Felix, and other parts. The ſhips here as in all the other places on theſe coaſts, were built without nails, and payed with wild frankincenſe inſtead of pitch.

The admiral, on his leaving Quiloa, ſteered to Melinda. On his coming to an anchor, he ſaluted the city with all his ordnance, and immediately ſet on ſhore the ambaſſador whom De Gama had carried to Portugal, and who was attended by ſome of the Portugueſe, with rich preſents and a letter from King Emanuel, with which his majeſty was ſo highly pleaſed, that the next day he made his public appearance on a fine horſe richly capariſoned, the furniture of which was ſent by his Portugueſe majeſty, and in this manner the king proceeded to the ſea-ſide, where the admiral, attended by all his officers, waited for him in their

boats, and were received by him in the moſt friendly manner; but notwithſtanding his majeſty's preſſing ſolicitations, De Cabral would make only a very ſhort ſtay; he, however, left two exiles, who were ordered, if poſſible, to travel to that part of Ethiopia ſituated above Egypt, where his Portugueſe majeſty had heard there was a chriſtian prince, and to learn the manners and cuſtoms of his people.

On the 7th of Auguſt, De Cabral left Melinda, and croſſing the Indian ſea with a fair wind, arrived at the iſlands of Anchediva, where after waiting a few days for the ſhips of Mecca to no purpoſe, he proceeded on his voyage, and on the 13th of September, caſt anchor within a league of Calicut. There ſoon came many boats to ſell him proviſions, and afterwards ſeveral of the principal naires, with a compliment from the zamorin, expreſſing his high ſatisfaction at his arrival, and making extraordinary offers of friendſhip. Upon this De Cabral proceeded nearer to the city with his ſhips, and the next day ſent to demand a ſafe conduct for a meſſenger, and with him the four Malabars whom De Gama had carried away. The citizens ſeeing them return in good health, and dreſſed in the Portugueſe faſhion, were highly pleaſed, as was alſo the zamorin; who ſhewed great ſigns of ſatisfaction, though he would not immediately admit them to his preſence; but he gave free leave for every body on board to come on ſhore. Upon this, the admiral ſent Alonzo Hertido, with an interpreter to inform the king that he came from Portugal, with the ſole view of ſettling a trade and friendſhip with him, and therefore requeſted hoſtages, that he might wait on his majeſty in perſon, for which purpoſe he deſired the cutwal, and one of the principal naires, might be ſent on board.

The zamorin objecting to theſe, on account of their age and infirmities, propoſed to ſend others, while the Arabs endeavoured to prevent his ſending any at all; but after three days debate, the zamorin being dazzled with the proſpect of the advantages ariſing from trade, ſent the hoſtages. Upon this the admiral reſolved to wait on his majeſty on ſhore, but firſt ordered Sancho de Toar, to whom he left the command during his abſence, to uſe the hoſtages well; but not to deliver them to any who came to demand them, though it ſhould be even done in his name.

On the 28th of December, the zamorin ſent ſeveral of the principal naires, with many ſervants, and muſical inſtruments, to attend the admiral, who being informed that his majeſty waited for him in a gallery erected near the water-ſide, on purpoſe to receive him, ſet out with all poſſible ſtate, accompanied with the boats belonging to the fleet, and thirty of the principal officers. The hoſtages were very unwilling to enter the ſhip till they ſaw the admiral landed, apprehending, that as ſoon as they were on board, he would return and detain them. During this diſpute, De Cabral ſtept on ſhore, where many principal naires waited for him, and was immediately taken up in a chair, and with all his attendants, was carried to the Serama, a lodge, or hall hung with tapeſtry, at the farther end of which ſat the zamorin croſs-legged on a ſilk cuſhion, in a kind of alcove, which reſembled a little oratory, and over his head hung a cloth of ſtate of crimſon velvet.

On his head was a cap of cloth of gold, and at his ears hung jewels compoſed of diamonds, ſapphires, and pearls, two of which were larger than walnuts. He had a piece of white calico embroidered with gold about his middle, faſtened on with a girdle, and all the reſt of his body was naked. His arms from the elbow to the wriſt,

and his legs from the knees downwards, were loaded with bracelets, ſet with a prodigious number of precious ſtones of great value; his fingers and toes were covered with rings, and particularly on his great toe was one, that had a large ruby of ſurprizing luſtre: but all this was nothing, when compared to the richneſs of his girdle, which was covered with precious ſtones ſet in gold, and caſt a luſtre that dazzled every eye. Near the zamorin ſtood a chair of ſtate, and his litter all of gold and ſilver, curiouſly wrought and adorned with precious ſtones. There were three golden trumpets, and ſeventeen of ſilver, whoſe mouths were alſo ſet with ſtones; beſides ſilver lamps, and cenſers ſmoaking with perfumes. At about ſix paces from the zamorin ſtood his two brothers, who were the next heirs to the crown, and a little farther ſeveral of the nobles, who all ſtood before him.

The admiral, at his entrance, would have gone up to kiſs the zamorin's hand, but being informed that it was not the cuſtom, he deſiſted, and took his ſeat in a chair placed near his majeſty, which was the greateſt honour that could be done him. He then delivered his letter of credit written in Arabic, which the zamorin having read, the admiral delivered his meſſage, importing, that the king of Portugal was deſirous of cultivating a friendſhip with the zamorin, and of ſettling a factory at Calicut, which ſhould be ſupplied with all ſorts of European goods, and deſired, that either by way of exchange, or for ready money, his ſhips might be allowed to lade with ſpices. The zamorin ſeemed pleaſed with the embaſſy, and told the admiral, that his maſter ſhould be welcome to whatever his city afforded.

While they were talking, the preſent was brought in, which conſiſted of a wrought ſilver baſon gilt, a fountain of the ſame, a ſilver cup with a gilt

cover, two wedges of ſilver, four cuſhions, two of cloth of gold, and two of crimſon velvet, a cloth of ſtate of the ſame velvet ſtriped, and bound with gold lace, a very fine carpet, and two rich pieces of arras.

The audience being ended, the zamorin told De Cabral, that he might retire either to his lodgings or his ſhips; for he was obliged to ſend for the hoſtages who were not uſed to the ſea, and he was ſure would neither eat nor drink while on board; adding, that if he came the next day to conclude what was begun, they ſhould be ſent on board again. This hopeful beginning was in danger of being deſtroyed by an unreaſonable diſtruſt which prevailed on both ſides; for the admiral being come to the water-ſide, a ſervant belonging to one of the hoſtages went before in a pinnace, by order of the clerk and comptroller of the zamorin's houſhold, to let them know that the admiral was coming on board, which they no ſooner heard, than they leaped into the water, in order to get off in the pinnace; but Ayres Correa, leaping into his boat, took ſome of them. The reſt however got off, and among them was the cutwal. The admiral coming on board, ordered the hoſtages that were taken, to be put under the hatches, to prevent their running away, and ſent to the zamorin to complain of the reſt, laying the blame on the clerk and comptroller, and promiſing to deliver thoſe he detained, as ſoon as his baggage, and the men he had left to take care of it, were brought on board.

The next day, the zamorin attended by 1200 men came to the water-ſide, and ſent on board the admiral's men and baggage, with whom went thirty pinnaces to fetch back the hoſtages; but for fear of being detained, none of them durſt venture near enough to receive them. The Portugueſe alſo ſeemed as unwilling to venture in order to

deliver them, ſo that they remained ſtill in cuſtody. However, the next morning Cabral reſolved to ſend them on ſhore in his own boats, and ordered the men to land them at a diſtance, from the pinnaces. But while they were preparing to put off with them, Araxamenoca, the eldeſt of theſe pledges, and another perſon ſuddenly leaped into the water. The former was however taken again; but the other, with five more, made their eſcape. Upon this, Cabral ordered Araxamenoca to be cloſely watched; but no meſſenger coming to demand him for three days, and the admiral obſerving, that he eat nothing all the while, ſent him with ſeveral weapons belonging to the Malabars to the zamorin, who immediately ordered two of the Portugueſe, who were ſtill on ſhore, to be returned.

Three days now elapſed without hearing from the zamorin; upon which the admiral reſolved to ſend a meſſenger, to learn if he was inclined to finiſh the agreement already begun, in which caſe, he propoſed to ſend his chief factor on ſhore, provided hoſtages were delivered as before; but every one was ſo poſſeſſed with fear, that Franciſco Correa was the only perſon on board the fleet, who would undertake to deliver the meſſage. The zamorin gave Correa a very kind reception, ſaid that he ſhould be glad to have the trade ſettled, and made no difficulty of ſending hoſtages, naming, for that purpoſe, the two nephews of a rich Guzurat merchant, who were immediately ſent on board, and a handſome houſe prepared for Ayres Correa, the factor, in which he was to lodge his merchandize, and as this factor was unacquainted with the rules obſerved in trade, and the prices of commodities, the zamorin orderd the grandfather of the hoſtages, to whom the houſe belonged, to inſtruct him in theſe particulars. However, the Guzurat merchant favouring the Arabians,

let them have the goods at their own price, and perſuaded Correa to give more for the merchandize of India, than they were worth. Whenever he went to ſpeak to the zamorin, ſome of the Arabian merchants were always preſent to contradict his meaſures, and they even prevailed on the admiral of Calicut, to hinder thoſe belonging to the factory from going on board, and to detain any of the ſhips that ſhould remove nearer the ſhore.

De Cabral being informed of theſe proceedings, and being apprehenſive that he ſhould be attacked by the king's fleet in caſe he remained in the harbour, weighed anchor and ſtood out to ſea, reſolving to conſult what was to be done. Upon this, the zamorin ſent for Correa, and learning from him the cauſe of the admiral's leaving the harbour, deſired that he would ſend to him to return, and immediately gave orders for fruſtrating the deſigns of the Arabians; he alſo removed the Guzurat from about Correa, and put in his place another perſon, whoſe name was Coſebequin, who, though a Turk himſelf, was a friend to the Portugueſe; for the Turks, who are natives of India, are always at variance with thoſe who come from Cairo and the ſtreights of Mecca. Farther, to prevent the factor from being diſturbed by the Arabian merchants, and to give him an opportunity of buying and ſelling to advantage, the zamorin gave him a houſe by the water ſide for ever, which was done by a writing, to which that prince put his hand and ſeal, and it was afterwards incloſed in a piece of cloth of gold for the admiral to carry to Portugal. The zamorin alſo directed, that a flag with the arms of Portugal, ſhould be fixed on the top of the building, as a teſtimony of its being appropriated to the uſe of his Portugueſe majeſty, after which, they had a pretty good vent for their merchandize, for the natives frequented

the factory, and the Portugueſe walked about in Calicut, with as little moleſtation as they could have done in Liſbon.

During theſe tranſactions, De Cabral was informed, that a large ſhip of Ceylon, with ſeveral elephants on board, was bound from Cochin to Cambaya, and that the commander having refuſed the zamorin one of thoſe animals, if he would take the veſſel, he would not only oblige his majeſty, but forward his own buſineſs. The admiral ſent word, that to oblige the zamorin, he would willingly attack the ſhip, though he was ſenſible it was a dangerous attempt. He however allotted only one ſmall ſhip commanded by Pedro Attaida, for this enterpriſe, at which the zamorin was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and waited the event with great impatience. Scarce were the Portugueſe prepared for the engagement, when the ſhip appeared, upon which Attaida inſtantly bore down upon her, without approaching ſo near as to give the men on board an opportunity of taking advantage of their darts and their ſuperior numbers, when many being killed by the great guns, they endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight, and by the favour of the night entered the harbour of Cananor; but finding they had not eſcaped the purſuit of the Portugueſe, they put again to ſea, and the engagement being renewed, they were at length driven into the harbour of Calicut. The next day the zamorin came to the water-ſide, and was greatly ſurpriſed at ſeeing a veſſel taken by one that was not above a ſixth part of her bulk, and to ſhew his approbation, was very laviſh in his encomiums on the bravery of the Portugueſe.

The Arabians at Calicut now joined in a body, and waiting on the zamorin, repreſented their concern at finding that he ſo highly prized theſe new comers, while he ſhewed but little eſteem for thoſe who had ſo long given proofs of their fidelity, and

ſo long ſupported the trade of Calicut. They inſinuated, that the Portugueſe could not poſſibly be any other than pirates, ſince it evidently appeared to them, that they could not come to India for the ſake of trade, the profits of which could not be ſuppoſed to defray the expences of ſo many ſhips and men, in a voyage of 5000 leagues. They then affirmed, that their deſign was to take the city and plunder the country, if they could once get the leaſt footing there, and that they would turn the factory he had given them into a fort, and concluded with threatening to remove to ſome other city of Malabar, in caſe he continued to give the Portugueſe ſuch encouragement, and them ſo little.

The zamorin aſſured them of his friendſhip, and that he would not forſake them in favour of any ſtrangers: he let them know, that his reaſon for ſending the admiral to take the Cochin ſhip, was only to try the valour of his men, and that he only allowed them to trade, like other merchants, in order to bring their money into his country. The Arabian merchants, far from being ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, from thenceforward publicly intermeddled in the affairs of the Portugueſe, and ſo far oppoſed them in the buying of ſpices, that in three months time there were but two ſhips, that had taken in their full complement, though the zamorin himſelf had promiſed that the whole fleet ſhould be laden with ſpices in twenty days, and that they ſhould be ſupplied before the veſſels of any other ſtrangers.

The admiral readily concluded that this could not be done without the knowledge and conſent of the zamorin, and therefore, ſent an officer to complain of theſe injuries, and that notwithſtanding his promiſe, the Arabian ſhips were ſupplied with great facility and expedition. Upon this remonſtrance, the zamorin ſeemed to be greatly ſurpriſed at the ſhips being ſtill unladen, and ſaid, that he

could not believe that the Arabians would dare to diſobey his commands, by buying of ſpices in a clandeſtine manner; he therefore gave the Portugueſe leave to ſearch the ſhips of the Arabians, and to take all the ſpices they found in them, only paying the juſt value to the merchants.

As the Arabians waited for an opportunity to quarrel with the Portugueſe, they thought this afforded a very good pretence for it. Immediately one of the principal perſons among them began to lade his ſhip openly, and the better to ſucceed in his ſcheme, got ſome of the Arabians and natives whom the factor took for his friends, to perſuade him, that if he did not ſeize theſe ſpices, he would never be able to freight the fleet. Correa giving credit to this advice, ſent to deſire the admiral to take the ſhip; but he being apprehenſive that it would cauſe the Arabians to riſe againſt the factory, was very much againſt it. Correa preſſed him again, and De Cabral declined it a ſecond time; but the factor perſiſting in his application, and engaging to anſwer for all damages that ſhould happen on that account, the admiral at length ſent a perſon to acquaint the captain, that he muſt not depart without his permiſſion; but the Arabian diſregarding his orders, he commanded his officers to man and arm the boats, and tow the veſſel back into the harbour. The owner, who was a perſon of great wealth and influence, being enraged at this proceeding, aſſembled his friends and adherents, and repairing with them to the palace, informed the zamorin, that though the Portugueſe had gotten a much greater quantity of ſpices and drugs than they, yet they were ſo far from being contented, that like robbers and pirates, they would needs run away with all. They therefore demanded, that they might be allowed to redreſs themſelves, and to take ſatisfaction for the injury. The zamorin, who was continually wavering, now

intimated, that he ſhould not be diſpleaſed at any plan of revenge they ſhould execute. Upon which they haſtened back to aſſault the factory.

The houſe belonging to the Portugueſe was encompaſſed with a wall ten feet high, and in it were ſeventy men, including the friars; but among them all there were only eight croſs bows, beſides their ſwords. The firſt party of Arabs, who advanced was ſo few, that the Portugueſe reſolved to defend the gates of the factory with their cloaks and rapiers, but their numbers increaſing very faſt, and galling the defendants with their arrows and ſpears, the Portugueſe, after having loſt five men, with no ſmall difficulty ſhut the gates, and betook themſelves to the walls with their croſs bows. Correa ſoon perceived that the enemy amounted to four hundred men, among whom were ſeveral naires, and that it was impoſſible to hold out long, without obtaining aſſiſtance from the fleet, upon which, he ſet up a flag, on the top of the factory, as a ſignal of diſtreſs. The admiral being ill, ſent to his relief Sancho de Toar with all the boats, and a ſtrong detachment of men; but finding the enemy ſo numerous, he would not venture to land, nor even to go too near the ſhore, for fear the enemy ſhould ſend out their almadias and tonies to take him. Mean while, many of the beſieged being wounded with a conſtant ſhower of ſpears and arrows, and ſeeing the Arabs preparing engines to batter down the wall, they reſolved to quit the factory by a door that opened to the water-ſide, in hopes of ſaving themſelves in the boats; but the enemy preſſing them cloſe, and the boats not immediately advancing, only twenty eſcaped, the greateſt part of whom afterwards died of their wounds, the other fifty being either killed upon the ſpot or taken priſoners. Among the former was Ayres Correa; but his ſon Antonio, a boy of about eleven years of age,

was conveyed to the ſhore by one of the Portugueſe, who defended him with great valour; but in ſpite of all his efforts, the boy muſt have periſhed, had not a ſailor taken him on his ſhoulders and ſwam with him on board, and this boy afterwards gained great reputation by his bravery. The merchandiſe ſeized upon this occaſion amounted to 4000 ducats, and of the men who were taken priſoners, four died of their wounds.

De Cabral was much concerned at the loſs of his men, and finding that the zamorin ſent no apology, he reſolved to be immediately revenged, in order to prevent that prince having time to arm his fleet. He, therefore, gave orders for attacking ten large Arabian veſſels that were then in the harbour. The engagement was maintained for ſome time with great obſtinacy on both ſides; the Portugueſe however, at laſt boarded them, killed 600 of the Arabs, and obliged thoſe who remained alive to ſerve as ſailors. Finding three elephants in the prizes, he had them killed and ſalted, to ſupply the want of other proviſions which began to grow ſcarce: The ſpices and other goods were then taken out, and the ſhips burned in ſight of crouds of Arabians on the ſhore, and in the almadias, who came to ſuccour their friends, but were ſoon repulſed with loſs. Mean while the inhabitants of Calicut were ſo terrified at the ſight of the flames, that they ran up and down in the greateſt diſtraction.

This was a ſevere revenge, and certainly as much as juſtice could authoriſe; but the admiral was not yet ſatisfied: he ordered his ſhips to ſpread along the ſhore, and advance as near it as poſſible with their boats before them. At break of day, the ordnance began to play upon the town, and did great execution, both among the houſes and the inhabitants, who crowding to avoid, or to repel danger, fell thick at every ſhot. Several of

the temples were demoliſhed, with part of his majeſty's palace, and the terror was ſo univerſal, that the zamorin himſelf fled, and narrowly eſcaped a bullet from one of the boats, a naire being killed juſt behind him.

Towards evening, the Portugueſe put a ſtop to their cannonading to follow two large ſhips, which were making into the port; but perceiving the ſlaughter and devaſtation made by the Portugueſe, fled to Pandarane, where there were five other veſſels at anchor; but De Cabral not being able to come up with them, purſued his voyage to Cochin, in order to ſettle a factory there, and took two Arabian ſhips in his paſſage.

De Cabral arrived before the city of Cochin on the 20th of December. This city, which ſtands upon a river, is nineteen leagues ſouth of Calicut, and has a ſafe and capacious port; the land about it is low, and divided into many iſlands. The city was built after the ſame manner as Calicut, and inhabited by Pagans and Arabs, who came thither for the ſake of trade. Though there was no great plenty of proviſions, the country about it being of ſmall extent, and at the ſame time barren, yet there was plenty of pepper. The king, whoſe name was Trimumpara, was tributary to the zamorin, and not being entitled to coin money, was but poor; but the manner in which he heard the Portugueſe had treated the zamorin, luckily prejudiced him in their favour.

The admiral, having caſt anchor, ſent an Indian convert, called Michael Joghi, to the king, to inform him of his coming; to let him know what he had done at Calicut, and to deſire, that he might be allowed to trade for ſpices and other commodities, either in exchange for merchandize, or for ready money. This meſſenger had been one of the ſect of the Bramins, called by the Indians Joques, who affect the greateſt contempt of eaſe,

pleaſure, and enjoyment; and attempt to pleaſe the Deity, and excite compaſſion from the people, by wandering about naked, girt with chains, and ſuffering voluntary penances. They ſupport themſelves by begging, and frequent the markets and other public places, where they preach up their religions tenets with great zeal and vehemence. This perſon was become a convert to the Chriſtian faith, and behaved with great integrity. He returned with a very civil and polite anſwer from his majeſty, who expreſſed his joy at the arrival of the Portugueſe, and immediately diſpatched two of his principal naires as hoſtages, on condition that he ſhould change them every day, becauſe if they once eat on ſhipboard, they could never more appear in his preſence. The admiral, pleaſed with this hopeful beginning, appointed Gonzalo Gil Barbiſa factor, and ſent with him a clerk, an interpreter, and four baniſhed men as ſervants.

His majeſty immediately ſent the regiſter of the city, and ſeveral nobles to receive the factor, and bring him to court; but they here found none of that ſtate and grandeur which they had met with at Calicut. The prince was but meanly clad, and his palace had nothing but bare walls, with ſeats round them, railed in, and in one of theſe the prince himſelf ſat. The factor being introduced offered the admiral's preſent, which conſiſted of a ſilver waſhing baſon full of ſaffron, a large ſilver ewer, filled with roſe-water, and ſome branches of coral. The king received this preſent with apparent pleaſure, returned the admiral thanks, and after having talked ſome time with the factor, ordered him and his men to be well lodged. The admiral would not venture more perſons on ſhore, for fear of being expoſed to the ſame misfortune as at Calicut; but the event ſhewed there was no reaſon for diſtruſt. By the kind uſuage the Portugueſe met with, by the diſ-

patch that was made in loading their ſhips, and the willingneſs with which the natives aſſiſted them on all occaſions, it plainly appeared, that this prince was very ſincere in his profeſſions of ſerving them.

The ſhip being laden and the admiral on ſhore, he was viſited by two Indian Chriſtians who were brothers, and were deſirous of going to Portugal, in order to viſit Rome and Jeruſalem. They were called the Chriſtians of St. Thomas, and Cabral aſking them, if the place they came from was inhabited only by Chriſtians, and whether they belonged to the Greek or Latin church? one of them informed him, that the inhabitants were a mixture of Chriſtians, Jews, Pagans, and Mahometan ſtrangers, who were merchants of Syria, Egypt, Perſia, and Arabia; that the Chriſtians paid the king tribute, and dwelt in a part of the city by themſelves; where they had a church, in which they had croſſes, but no other images, nor any bells. That they had their pope, under whom were twelve cardinals, and two patriarchs, with many biſhops and archbiſhops, who all reſided in Armenia, to which place the biſhops of Cranganor went to receive their dignity, and that he himſelf had been there to be ordained prieſt by the pope, whoſe juriſdiction extended over India and Cathay. That the two patriarchs reſided in thoſe two provinces, and the biſhops were diſperſed in the cities belonging to them. That their pope was called Catholicos, and their tonſure made in the form of a croſs The admiral on hearing this readily granted their requeſt, and conſented to take them with him to Portugal,

There ſoon after came two meſſengers from the kings of Cananor and Coulan, inviting the admiral to come and trade in their ports, and promiſing him ſpices cheaper than he could have them at Cochin. De Cabral returned them thanks, and

excuſed himſelf from accepting thoſe invitations, by aſſuring them, that he had already completed his cargo; but promiſed to viſit them on his return to India.

Soon after, twenty-five large ſhips, beſides a great number of ſmall veſſels, appeared on the coaſt, and the king of Cochin being informed of the deſign of this armament, immediately ſent to inform De Cabral, that this large fleet was fitted out by the zamorin of Calicut, and had on board 15,000 ſoldiers to revenge the loſs of his capital, and to make him an offer of ſupplying him with all the veſſels he wanted. De Cabral returned thanks to the king, and aſſured him, that he ſhould be able with his ſmall force, to make them repent their errand; and having prepared his ſhips for an engagement, ſailed directly to meet the enemy; but a ſtorm ariſing, and the wind ſhifting, he was obliged to return.

The next day, which was the 10th of January, 1501, the admiral prepared to ſeek the enemy; but miſſing a ſhip commanded by Sancho de Toar, which was the largeſt next to his own, and the beſt provided with men, he thought proper to change his reſolution, and ſteer homewards; but was all that day followed by the Calicut fleet, which left him at night. This prevented his return to Cochin, as he had propoſed, in order to ſet on ſhore the naires, who were the king's hoſtages; and, contrary to the laws of all nations, he carried them away with him; but after faſting five days, they were at length, by the admiral's perſuaſions, reconciled to eating on board.

The fleet was ſoon after joined by the ſhip that was miſſing, and arriving on the coaſt of Cananor, the admiral received another invitation from the king, in conſequence of which, he entered the port of that city on the 15th. The city of Cananor

is ſituated thirty-one leagues to the north of Cochin, and is very large. The bay forms a commodious harbour, and the houſes are of earth covered with ſlates; the adjacent country produces all the neceſſaries of life, beſides plenty of ginger, cardamum, caſſia, myrabolans, and tamarinds; but no more pepper than is conſumed in the country, and the Arabians here carry on a conſiderable trade. The lakes near the city produce alligators; and here are adders, which are ſaid to be ſo poiſonous as to kill men with their breath. There are bats as large as kites, with a head like that of a fox, and eſteemed good eating. The king, who was one of the three independent princes of Malabar, was a bramin; but not ſo rich as either the zamorin of Calicut, or the king of Coulan. Here the admiral took in 400 quintals of cinnamon, and ſome ginger; but the king ſuppoſing that the ſmall quantity of ſpices he purchaſed there proceeded from his want of money, and the loſs he had ſuffered, by having his factory at Calicut deſtroyed, ſent in a very friendly manner to let him know, that he might have whatever he pleaſed upon credit. The admiral thanked his majeſty for his generous offer, which he declined accepting; and to convince the meſſenger that he ſtood in no need of his aſſiſtance, ſhewed him a large ſum of money, and let him know, that the ſhips being already completely laden, was the reaſon of his forbearing to make a larger purchaſe.

De Cabral having, by the king's deſire, taken on board an ambaſſador to his Portugueſe majeſty, he weighed from Cananor, in order to croſs the ſea between India and Africa, in which paſſage he took a very large and rich merchant ſhip; but finding ſhe belonged to Cambaya, he diſmiſſed her, after having taken out of her a pilot to conduct him through the Indian ſea, telling the commander, that Emanuel, king of Portugal, was at war with

none in India, but the zamorin of Calicut and the Arabians of Mecca, from whom he had ſuffered the greateſt indignities.

Soon after, the fleet was overtaken by a terrible ſtorm when they were near the African coaſt, in which the ſhip commanded by Sancho de Toar, was driven in the night upon a bank, where, after the crew and cargo were taken out, and divided among the other ſhips, ſhe was burnt by the admiral's order to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy; but notwithſtanding this precaution, the king of Mombaſſa afterwards found means to recover the great guns. Following their courſe in this tempeſt, they paſſed by Melinda, not being able to put in there, nor at any other place upon the coaſt, till they came to Moſambique, where they caſt anchor, in order to refit their ſhips.

De Cabral now ſent De Toar to examine the coaſt of Sofala, while he himſelf proceeded on his voyage. On the 22d of May, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and continuing his voyage, arrived at Liſbon on the 31ſt of July, 1501.

THE

VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN JAMES LANCASTER,

TO THE EAST-INDIES.

The firſt made on Account of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company.

Containing an account of the particulars that took place after he ſailed from Dartmouth, in the year 1600, till his arriva in the Downs, in 1603.

IN the year 1600, the merchants of London having raiſed a joint ſtock of 72,000l. to be employed in ſhips and merchandize, in order to carry on a trade to the Eaſt Indies, for which they had obtained a patent from Queen Elizabeth, they bought and fitted out four large ſhips, viz the Dragon of 600 tons and 202 men, commanded by Capt. James Lancaſter, general*; the Hector of 300 tons and 108 men, under the command of Capt. John Middleton, vice-admiral; the Aſcenſion of 260 tons and 32 men, in which was William Brand, chief governor; and the Suſan, carrying 84 men, commanded by Capt. John Hayward; to which was added, the Gueſt, a ſhip of 130 tons, as a victualler. There were in each of the four ſhips

* This gentleman was one of the company to whom the patent was granted.

three merchants, who were to ſucceed each other in caſe of death; and the fleet was furniſhed with proviſions for twenty months. There were on board in merchandize and Spaniſh money to the value of 27,000l. and all the reſt of the company's ſtock was laid out in the purchaſe and equipment of the ſhips; in providing them with neceſſaries, and advancing money to the mariners. Queen Elizabeth gave them letters of recommendation to ſeveral princes of India; and as no great action can be well carried on, without an abſolute authority, ſhe granted the general a commiſſion of martial law.

This fleet ſailed from Dartmouth on the 18th of April, 1601, and put into Torbay, where the general had ſent inſtructions on board all the ſhips, for keeping company at ſea, and appointed the places of rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation.

On the 22d of April they departed for the Canaries, and in the morning of the 5th of May, had ſight of Alegranza, the moſt northerly of theſe iſlands, but being frequently becalmed, and often meeting with contrary winds, it was the 21ſt of June, before they got into two degrees north, where ſpying a Portugueſe ſhip, they chaſed and took her*. She came from Liſbon with two caracks, and three galeons bound for the Eaſt-Indies, from which ſhips he had been ſeparated at ſea. The Engliſh took out of her 146 butts of wine, 176 jars of oil, twelve barrels of oil, and fifty-five hogſheads of meal, which were equitably diſtributed among the ſhips, and was a great help to them during the whole voyage.

On the laſt of June they paſſed the line, and the 25th of July, got into 10°. 40'. ſouth latitude, where they unloaded the Gueſt victuallar, and after

* Portugal was then ſubject to the Spaniards, with whom Queen Elizabeth was at war.

taking her maſts, ſails, and yards, broke down her higher buildings for fire wood, and left her floating in the ſea. Nine days after, they croſſed the tropic of Capricorn, when many of the men falling ſick from their continuing ſo long under the line, by the firſt of Auguſt, all the ſhips, except the general's, were ſo thin of men, that they had ſcarce a ſufficient number to handle their ſails, and the want of hands became at laſt ſo great, that in ſome of the ſhips the merchants took their turns at the helm, and like common ſailors, went aloft to take in the ſails; but at length, a fair wind ſpringing up, they, on the 9th of September, reached Saldanna, and the Hector came to an anchor. The general ſent his boats to aſſiſt the other ſhips in entering the harbour, and even went on board himſelf, with a ſufficient number of men, to hoiſt out their boats for them.

The reaſon why his crew were in better health than thoſe of the other ſhips, was owing to the general's having brought ſome bottles of the juice of lemons to ſea with him, of which he gave to every perſon on board, as long as it laſted, three ſpoonfuls every morning faſting, not ſuffering them to eat any thing after it till noon.

Mr. Lancaſter, having revived the ſpirits of the feeble crews in the other ſhips, by the aſſiſtance he had afforded them, went on ſhore, and meeting with ſome of the natives, gave them ſeveral trifles, as knives, and pieces of iron, making ſigns for them to bring him cows and ſheep, which he eaſily made them underſtand by ſpeaking in the language of the cattle themſelves. He made a noiſe like the lowing of horned cattle, to ſhew that they wanted them, and uſed the ſound baa for ſheep, which the natives eaſily underſtood, without an interpreter. Having diſmiſſed the people, well ſatisfied with their preſents and kind

uſage, he gave orders that every ſhip's company ſhould bring their ſails on land, erect tents for their ſick, and alſo raiſe works for their defence, in caſe the natives ſhould take any diſguſt, and make an attempt againſt them. Mr. Lancaſter alſo gave orders, that when the natives came down with cattle, only five or ſix men, appointed for that purpoſe, ſhould go to deal with them, and that a body of men with muſkets and pikes, which were never to be leſs than thirty, ſhould come no nearer the place of ſale than 140, or 200 yards; but ſhould always ſtand drawn up in a rank with their muſkets on their reſts to be ready againſt all accidents. This prudent order being ſtrictly obſerved, none could go to ſpeak to any of the natives without leave, which had ſo happy an effect, that the harmony, which now ſubſiſted between them, was not broken during their ſtay.

The third day after their arrival, the people brought down beef and mutton, which the ſhips companies bought for pieces of old iron hoops; giving two pieces of eight inches each for an ox, and one piece of eight inches for a ſheep; which ſo well pleaſed the natives, that in ten or twelve days, they ſold them 1000 ſheep, and forty-two oxen, and would have ſupplied them with more if they had wanted. Theſe oxen were full as big as the Engliſh, and very fat; many of the ſheep were much larger than thoſe of the Engliſh breed, and the fleſh exceeding good, fat and ſweet. However, after this trade was over, though the natives often came to viſit them, they ſhewed no inclination to renew it, but when the Engliſh made ſigns for more ſheep, they pointed to thoſe that had been brought, which were kept grazing upon the hills about the tents; it was therefore imagined, that the natives were under ſome apprehenſions of their intending to ſettle there.

During their ſtay here, they met with ſuch refreſhment, that all the men recovered their health and ſtrength, except four or five, but theſe added to thoſe who died before their arrival, amounted to 105, and yet the remainder were thought ſtronger when they left this bay, than at their departure from England.

The general having cauſed all the tents to be taken down, and received on board a freſh ſupply of wood and water, put to ſea on the 29th of October, and on the 26th of November fell in with the head land of the iſland of Madagaſcar, ſomewhat to the eaſt of Cape Sebaſtian, and continued plying to the eaſtward till the 15th of December, about which time, the men began again to fall ſick of the ſcurvy.

On the 17th day, they had ſight of the ſouthermoſt part of St. Mary's Iſland, and the next day, having anchored between it and Madagaſcar, they ſent their boats aſhore to the former iſland, where they got plenty of lemons and oranges; but while they were riding there, there aroſe ſo violent a ſtorm, that three of the ſhips were driven from their anchors, but at length the tempeſt abating, after it had continued ſixteen hours, the ſhips returned.

St. Mary's Iſland is high land, and full of woods, the people are black, and the men tall and handſome, with curled hair, only they ſtroke up that on their foreheads, by which means it ſtands about three inches upright. They go quite naked, except a ſmall covering hanging from the waiſt, and ſeem to be extremely brave, yet are eaſy to converſe with. Though their principal food is rice and fiſh, the Engliſh could get but a ſmall quantity of the former, for as the harveſt was at hand, they had nearly conſumed their whole ſtock. They could therefore obtain nothing more than a little goat's milk; for they ſaw only one cow, and

that was driven away as ſoon as the people perceived the Engliſh were landing. There are two or three watering places on the north part of the iſland, none of which are very commodious, yet with ſome trouble water enough may be had. However, as there was ſo little refreſhments to be obtained, and as the place they rode in was very dangerous, they ſailed on the 23d for Antongil; on the 25th, they entered that bay, and came to an anchor between a ſmall iſland lying in the bottom of the bay and the main, which was a very ſafe road; but on landing in this little iſland, they found a writing laid in the rocks, that five Dutch ſhips had been there about two months before, and that while they rode in that place, they had loſt 150 or 200 men by ſickneſs.

Landing the day after in the main iſland, the people ſoon repaired to them, and by ſigns informed them of the five Dutch ſhips, and that they had bought the moſt part of their proviſions. However, they entered into barter with the Engliſh, to whom they ſold hens, rice, oranges, lemons, and plantains, but held them up at a high rate. Their market was near a great river, upon which the Engliſh went in their boats; thoſe appointed to be buyers landing, while the reſt ſtaid in their boats at fifteen or twenty yards diſtance, where the natives could not come at them; though they were always ready with their weapons in their hands to take in thoſe who were on ſhore, whenever it ſhould be neceſſary. The natives trifled away ſome days before they would deal with them; for they were very ſubtle in buying and ſelling, continually inſiſting upon having a little more, and if that was once complied with, none would afterwards ſell under that price.

The general, perceiving this troubleſome diſpoſition, ordered meaſures to be made, which held

near a quart, and appointed how many glaſs beads ſhould be given for every meaſure. The like order was made with reſpect to oranges, lemons, and plantains. The number to be given for every bead was fixed, nor were they to deal on other terms. The natives, after holding off a little, at length conſented, and from this prudent regulation, their dealings became frank, and without any farther cavilling or diſpute. The Engliſh bought here, fifteen tons and a quarter of rice, forty or fifty buſhels of peas and beans, great ſtore of oranges, lemons, and plantains, eight cows, and ſome fowl. While they rode in this bay, they joined together a pinnace of eighteen tons, brought out of England in pieces, and cutting down ſome of the trees which grew there in great abundance, ſawed them into boards and ſheathed her. This veſſel was of uſe in going before their ſhips, in order to make the proper ſoundings, to prevent the large veſſels running on the rocks and ſhoals.

In this bay there died out of the Dragon, the maſter's mate, the chaplain, and the ſurgeon, with ten common men; and out of the Hector the maſter and two others, all of whom were carried off by the flux, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the water they drank on ſhore. Unfortunately as the maſter's mate of the Dragon was carrying to land, in order to be interred, the captain of the Aſcenſion took his boat to attend the ceremony, and as it is the cuſtom at ſea, to diſcharge ſome pieces of ordnance at the interment of any officer; the gunner fired three guns, and the bullets being in them, one ſtruck the Aſcenſion's boat, and killed both the captain and boatſwain's mate, who thus by going to ſee the burial of another, were both buried here themſelves.

On the 16th of March, the ſhips left this bay, and on the 16th, fell in with an iſland, called Roque-Piz, in 10°. 30'. ſouth latitude. Here the

general ſent his boat in ſearch of a proper road, but ſhe moſtly found deep water where ſhips could not ride in ſafety. In coaſting this iſland, they found that it had a beautiful appearance; it was exceeding full of cocoa-nut trees, and the breezes that blew from the ſhore were as fragrant, as if they had proceeded from a garden of flowers. As the boats approached the land, they ſaw abundance of fiſh, and the fowls came flying about them in ſuch multitudes, that the ſailors killed many of them with their oars, and theſe were found to be the fatteſt and beſt they had taſted in all their voyage.

After being ſeveral times in danger of running upon the rocks, they on the 9th of May, had ſight of the iſlands of Nicobar, and bearing in, anchored on the ſouth ſide under a ſmall iſland that lies near the ſhore. Here they met with few refreſhments, except freſh water, and ſome cocoa-nuts. The people came on board in long canoes, each of which would hold at leaſt twenty men, bringing gums to ſell inſtead of amber, by which ſeveral on board were deceived. They alſo brought hens and cocoa-nuts, but ſet ſo high a price upon them, that few were bought.

Having ſtaid here ten days, they ſet ſail on the 20th in the morning for Sumatra, but were hindered by the currents and the wind, which blew hard at ſouth-ſouth-weſt. By thus beating up and down, the ſhips became leaky, which obliged them to ſteer to the iſland of Sombrero, ten or twelve leagues to the northward of Nicobar. The people of theſe iſlands have only a covering round their waiſt. They have a tawny complexion, and paint their faces of ſeveral colours. They are well limbed; but ſo fearful, that none of them would venture on board the ſhips, or even the boats.

Leaving Sombrero on the 29th of May, they, on the 6th of June, anchored in the road of Achen,

in the iſland of Sumatra, about two miles from the city, where they found ſixteen or eighteen ſail of ſeveral nations, ſome of Bengola, and others of Calicut, Guzarat, Pegu, and Cathay. There ſoon came on board two Holland merchants, who had been left to learn the manners and language of the country, by whom they were informed, that they ſhould be very welcome to the king, who was deſirous of entertaining ſtrangers, and that the queen of England was renowned in thoſe parts, for the great victory ſhe had obtained over the king of Spain.

The ſame day in which the ſhips came to an anchor in the road of Achen, Mr. James Lancaſter ſent Capt. Middleton with four or five gentlemen to attend him, to wait on the king, and inform him, that he was ſent from the general of thoſe ſhips, who had a meſſage and letter from the moſt illuſtrious queen of England, to the moſt worthy king of Achen and Sumatra. He was alſo to deſire to know, if it was his majeſty's royal pleaſure, to give the general audience, with a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his people, in order to deliver his letter and meſſage.

Capt. Middleton was very kindly entertained by the king, who readily granted his requeſt, and aſked him many queſtions; after which he cauſed a banquet to be prepared for him, and at his departure, gave him a robe and a calico turban wrought with gold, as a ſpecial mark of his favour. He ſent word that the general ſhould ſtay one day on board his ſhips, to reſt himſelf after the fatigues of his voyage, and the next land, to receive an audience, and that he might venture on ſhore with as much ſecurity, as if they were in the kingdom of the queen his miſtreſs.

On the day fixed, the general landed with about thirty attendants, and on his going on ſhore, was met by the Dutch merchants, who, as it had been

agreed, conducted him to their house; for he would take no house of his own, till he had spoken with the king. Soon after, a nobleman coming, saluted the general, and having declared that he came from his majesty, demanded the queen's letter: but the general refused to give it him, saying, it was the privilege of ambassadors in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliver their letters to the princes themselves, and not to any who represented their person. The nobleman then desired to see the superscription, which he copied, and having looked earnestly at the seal, he with great courtesy took his leave, to make a report of what had passed.

Soon after, the king sent six large elephants, with many trumpets, drums, and streamers, and a considerable number of people, to accompany the general to court. The largest of the elephants was about thirteen or fourteen feet high, and had a small castle like a coach upon his back, covered with crimson velvet, in the middle was a great gold bason, covered with a piece of silk richly embroidered, and into this cup was put the queen's letter. The general was mounted upon another of the elephants; some of his attendants rode, and others went on foot; but on his coming to the gate of the palace, he was stopt by a nobleman, till he went in to know the king's farther pleasure, but soon returning, he desired the general to enter.

On his being admitted into the king's presence, he paid him his respects after the manner of the country; declaring, that he was sent from the most mighty queen of England, to congratulate his highness, and enter into a treaty of peace and amity with him. As he was going on with his discourse, the king interrupted him, saying, "I am "sure you are weary with the long voyage you "have taken, and would have you sit down to "refresh yourself, you are very welcome, and shall

"have whatever you can in reaſon demand for "your miſtreſs's ſake; for ſhe is worthy of all kind- "neſs, ſince fame ſpeaks her to be a princeſs of "noble diſpoſitions."

Upon this, the general delivered the queen's letter, which his majeſty readily received, and then delivered it to a nobleman who ſtood by. The general next offered the preſent, which was a ſilver baſon with a fountain in the middle, the whole weighing 205 ounces, a large ſilver cup, a rich looking-glaſs, a head-piece, on which was a plume of feathers, a caſe of very handſome daggers, a rich embroidered belt, and a fan of feathers. Theſe were all received by a nobleman, only the king took the fan into his own hand, and ſeeming moſt pleaſed with that, cauſed one of his women to fan him with it.

The general then ſeating himſelf croſs-legged on the ground, according to the cuſtom of the country, a very great banquet was ſerved up; all the diſhes of which were either of pure gold, or of another metal much eſteemed at Achen, called tambaic, which is a mixture of gold and braſs. During this entertainment, the king as he ſat in a gallery about a fathom from the ground, drank ſeveral times to the general in arrack; but Mr. Lancaſter perceiving its ſtrength, after the firſt draught, drank either water alone, or mixed with the arrack. The feaſt being over, his majeſty ſent for ſome girls to come and dance, and his women to play to them on muſic. Theſe women were richly dreſſed, and adorned with bracelets and jewels. This was eſteemed an extraordinary favour, as they were not uſually ſeen by any, but ſuch as the king would greatly honour. The king then gave the general a fine white robe of calico, richly embroidered with gold, a very handſome turky leather belt, and two croſſes, which are a kind of daggers, all which a nobleman put on for

him in the king's preſence. In this manner he was diſmiſſed, and a perſon ſent with him to make choice of a houſe in the city, where the general ſhould think moſt convenient. But he declined this favour, and rather choſe to return on board the ſhip.

The next time the general went to court, he had a long conference with the king about the queen's letter, with which his majeſty ſeemed much pleaſed. He profeſſed that he was very deſirous of entering into a league with the queen of England; obſerved, that as to the demands relating to trade, he had giving two of his nobles orders to confer with him on that ſubject, and promiſed, that whatever her majeſty had requeſted, ſhould be granted.

With this ſatisfactory anſwer, the general after another banquet departed, and the next day ſent to the noblemen the king had mentioned, to know the time they ſhould chuſe for the conference: one of them was the chief-prieſt of Achen, a man who well deſerved the high eſteem, which both the king and the people had for him; for he was a perſon of great wiſdom and temperance: the other was one of the ancient nobility, a perſon of much gravity, but not ſo fit for tranſacting buſineſs as the prieſt. The parties having met at the time appointed, the conference was held in Arabic, which, both the prieſt and nobleman underſtood; and on this occaſion, a Jew whom the general brought from England, and who ſpoke that language perfectly, ſerved as interpreter. Several demands being made relating to the privileges of the merchants, the prieſt aſked him what reaſons he had to offer, to induce the king to grant them. Upon which the general alleged the queen's affection and friendſhip; her worthineſs in protecting others againſt the king of Spain; the common enemy in thoſe parts. Her not ſuffering any

prince to exceed her in kindneſs; that her forces had gained many victories over the Spaniards, and hindered the attempts of the Portugueſe in that part of the world, and that the grand ſignior had already entered into a league with her majeſty. The general next laid down reaſons drawn from the advantages ariſing from commerce. He alleged, that the king could not avoid being ſenſible of the benefits which trade procured for all countries, and the increaſe it produced in the revenues of the ſeveral princes, by the cuſtoms laid on commodities: that ſovereigns grew renowned and formidable, in proportion to the wealth of their ſubjects, which was augmented by commerce: that the more kindly ſtrangers were entertained, the more trade flouriſhed, and conſequently the prince became more rich. That with regard to Achen in particular, the port lay well for the trade of Bengala, Java, the Molluccos, and China, which countries having a vent for their merchandize, would not fail to reſort thither with them. That as by this means the king's power would increaſe, the trade of the Portugueſe, and their great ſtrength in the Indies, would gradually diminiſh. That in caſe his majeſty ſhould want any artificers, he might have them from England, only ſatisfying them for their voyage, and allowing them free liberty to return when they thought fit. That any other neceſſary which his country afforded, ſhould be at the king's ſervice, preſuming that his majeſty would not demand any thing, to which the queen could not with pleaſure conſent, or that ſhould be contrary either to her honour, the laws, or leagues with Chriſtian princes.

The general farther demanded, that his majeſty would cauſe immediate proclamation, that none of his people ſhould abuſe any of the Engliſh; but that they ſhould be allowed to carry on their buſineſs peaceably, and this laſt requeſt was ſo effec-

tually complied with, that though the king's ſubjects were ſtrictly forbid walking by night, yet the Engliſh might go about, both by night and in the day, without interruption, only, if any of them were found abroad at unlawful hours, they were brought home to the general's houſe, and there delivered up.

The conference being ended, the high-prieſt deſired the general to let him have a memorandum in writing of his reaſons, and the privileges he demanded in the queen's name, telling him, that within a few days, he ſhould have his majeſty's anſwer. After this, ſome diſcourſe paſſed relating to the affairs of Chriſtendom, and then they broke up for that time.

The general having taken care to ſend a copy of his demands to theſe commiſſaries, the next time he went to court, finding the king engaged at a cock fighting, which was one of his majeſty's chief diverſions, he ſent his interpreter, to deſire of his majeſty to be mindful of the buſineſs, about which he had conferred with his nobles. Upon this, the king calling the general, told him, that he would willingly enter into a peace with her majeſty, and that, as for the articles he had ſet down in writing, they ſhould all be drawn up fair by one of his ſecretaries, and authorized by himſelf; and accordingly within five or ſix days, they were delivered to the general, by the king's own hand, with many expreſſions of kindneſs.

The ſubſtance of the articles were, firſt, That the Engliſh ſhould have free liberty to trade. Secondly, That their goods ſhould be cuſtom free, whether imported or exported, and that they ſhould be aſſiſted by the veſſels of Achen to ſave their ſhips, commodities, and men, from being wrecked, in caſe of danger. Thirdly, That they ſhould have liberty to make wills, and bequeath their effects to whom they pleaſed. Fourthly, That all their bar-

gains ſhould be confirmed, and orders granted for payment, by the ſubjects of Achen. Fifthly, That they ſhould have authority to execute juſtice on their own men. Sixthly, That they ſhould have juſtice againſt the natives for injuries done them. Seventhly, That their goods ſhould not be ſtopped, nor prices ſet on them; and eighthly, That they ſhould be allowed liberty of conſcience.

This league of peace and amity being ſettled, the merchants attempted to provide pepper for lading the ſhips; but found there was little to be had, on account of the laſt year's ſterility. However, being informed by ſome of the natives, that at a port called Priaman, about 150 leagues from thence, they might lade one of their ſmall ſhips, Mr. Lancaſter ſent the Suſan thither, and appointed Mr. Henry Middleton captain and chief merchant of that veſſel.

The general was not a little concerned, that Capt. John Davis, the principal pilot, had told the merchants before their leaving London, that pepper was to be had here for four rials of eight, the hundred weight: whereas it coſt them almoſt twenty; and on this account, he was perplexed how to lade the ſhips ſo as to ſave his own credit, preſerve the eſteem of the company by which he was employed, and keep up the reputation of his country, conſidering how diſgraceful it would appear in the eyes of the neighbouring nations, if they ſhould return empty from the Indies. Beſides, the Portugueſe ambaſſador watched every ſtep they took, though he was no ways acceptable to the king: for having, the laſt time of his being at court, aſked leave to ſettle a factory, and build a fort at the entrance of the harbour, under the pretence of ſecuring the merchants goods from fire, the king aſked him, if his maſter had a daughter to give his ſon, that he was ſo careful of the preſervation of his country, and added, that he need not be at the

charge of building a fort, ſince he had a proper houſe within land, about two leagues from the city, which he would ſpare him, for the uſe of his factory, where they might dwell without fear, either of enemies or fire, for he would protect them. The king was much diſpleaſed at the inſolence of the demand, and the ambaſſador went from court much diſſatisfied.

Soon after, an Indian came to the general's houſe to ſell poultry, and as this Indian belonged to the Portugueſe captain, who came with a cargo of rice from the port of Bengala, and lay in the ambaſſador's houſe, the general ſuſpected that the Indian was only ſent as a ſpy. However, he gave orders that he ſhould be well uſed, and that they ſhould always buy his fowls, and give him a handſome price for them. At laſt, the general taking occaſion to talk with him, aſked whence he came, and to what country he belonged, adding, "That "ſuch an agreeable young man deſerved a better "employment than buying and ſelling of fowls." "Sir," anſwered the Indian, "I ſerve this Portu- "gueſe captain, but though I was free born, I am "neither bound nor free: for I have been with "him ſo long, that now he partly reckons me his "own: and thoſe of his nation are ſo powerful, "that we cannot contend with them." "Then," "ſaid the general, "if you have any value for "your liberty, which you well deſerve, what "would you do for him who ſhould give it you, "and ſave you the trouble of pleading with your "maſter for it?" "Sir," replied the Indian, "free- "dom is as precious as life, and that I would freely "venture for him who ſhould do me the favour: "put me therefore upon any ſervice, and I will "make good my words." "Well," ſaid the ge- neral, "you urge me to prove whether you mean "ſincerely or not, I aſk you then what the ambaſ- "ſador ſays of me, and my ſhips, and what are

" his deſigns?" " Sir," ſays the Indian, " he has " a ſpy on board all your ſhips, a Chineſe, who " continually keeps company with your people, ſo " that he has a draught not only of your ſhips, " and their bulk, but of every piece of ordnance " belonging to each; how they are placed, and " what number of hands there are on board. He " finds your ſhips ſtrong, but your men ſick and " weak, and that with a ſmall force they might be " taken by ſurpriſe, he therefore deſigns, in a few " days, to ſend his draughts to Malacca, in order " to obtain a force ſufficient to attempt them."

The general laughed heartily at this news, ſaying, " The ambaſſador is not ſuch a fool as you " repreſent him, for he knows very well, that " I care but little for all the forces he can muſter " in theſe parts. But go, be here once or twice " a day, and tell me whether the ambaſſador " proceeds in his deſign, and when the meſſengers " are to depart with theſe draughts, and though " it will be but of little ſervice to me to know it, " I will give you your liberty."

The Indian went away highly ſatisfied, as was viſible by his countenance, and the quickneſs of his pace, and by his means, the general learned whatever the ambaſſador did in the day, either the ſame night or the next morning, and he behaved with ſuch caution, that neither any of the ambaſſador's family, nor the Engliſh themſelves knew what he came about.

The next day the general was ſent for to court, where his majeſty diſcourſed with him about an embaſſy ſent to him by the king of Siam, relating to the conqueſt of Malacca, and the forces he would aſſiſt him with by ſea, if he undertook that ſervice. This propoſal the general ſeconded with many reaſons, and took occaſion to mention how inſolently the Portugueſe ambaſſador behaved, and that he only came as a ſpy to diſcover the ſtrength

of the kingdom. The king replied, that he knew them to be his enemy; but wondered how he came to know it. The general anſwered, that the ambaſſador had planted ſpies about him to obſerve all his actions, and to pry into his deſigns, and had gotten a draught of his ſhips, in order to ſend it to Malacca, and procure a force from thence to attack them by ſurpriſe. At this the king ſmiled, obſerving, that he need not fear any danger from that quarter, ſince all the ſtrength they were able to muſter at Malacca, could not do him any harm; to which the general replied, that he did not fear any attempt they could make againſt him; but that ſuch intelligence would make them keep within their ports, and prevent his being able to come at them, and therefore intreated his majeſty to detain two of the ambaſſador's ſervants, who within three days, were to ſet out for another port in order to avoid being intercepted, and were there to hire a bark to ſail with this intelligence to Malacca. This the king promiſed, and the general took his leave.

The ambaſſador's ſervants accordingly departed with the draughts, and their maſter's letters, to a port about twenty-five leagues from Achen, where, having agreed for their paſſage, they embarked; but as they were going over the bar, they were followed by a frigate, which cauſed them to lower their ſails, that the officer might ſee their lading. As ſoon as he was on board, he perceived the two Portugueſe, aſked them whence they came and whither they were going; to which they anſwered, that they came from Achen, and belonged to the Portugueſe ambaſſador; but the officer told them, that they had robbed their maſter, and therefore, he would ſend them back to him to anſwer for themſelves. In the confuſion which aroſe upon this occaſion, they loſt their draughts and letters, their trunks alſo were broken

open, and they ſent bound to Achen, to be delivered to the ambaſſador in caſe they belonged to him.

The general had intelligence of all that paſſed, and the Indian came daily to ſell his fowls, with his maſter's conſent. By this time, the ſummer was pretty well over, and it being now September, it was time for the general to put to ſea. But at this very time, he heard, that the ambaſſador had obtained his diſpatch from the king to be gone. Upon which, going to court, he ſent the interpreter to deſire the honour of an audience, which being granted, the king demanded his errand, when the general replied, that it had pleaſed his highneſs to do him many favours, which had emboldened him to requeſt one kindneſs more. The king aſked him what it was, and whether there were more Portugueſe going to Malacca, to hinder his meaſures? The general replied that there were, and that the ambaſſador having obtained his majeſty's diſpatch, was determined to depart within five days, and that he begged of his majeſty to detain him ten. To which the king replied, that he would, provided he would bring him a Portugueſe maiden when he returned.

With this anſwer the general took his leave, and three ſhips being ready, the captain of a Dutch veſſel who was in the road, deſired he might bear the general company, and take a part in this adventure. His ſhip was about two hundred tons, and it was agreed, that he ſhould have an eighth of what ſhould be taken. Mean while the Aſcenſion was to ſtay behind to complete her lading, of which ſhe had above three parts on board.

After Mr. Lancaſter's departure, the Portugueſe ambaſſador appeared very eager to be gone; but the king deferred ſigning his paſſport for twenty-four days after the general's putting to ſea, and then expreſſed his wonder that he ſhould be in

ſuch haſte, ſince the Engliſh commander was at ſea, obſerving, that as he was ſtronger than the ambaſſador, he might do him a miſchief, if he ſhould meet with him. But he replying, that he depended upon the ſwiftneſs of his frigate, and that he defied all the force of the Engliſh, the king ſeemed reconciled to his departure, and gave him his diſpatch.

On the 3d of October, cruiſing near the ſtreights of Malacca the Hector obſerved a ſail, upon which, directions were given to ſpread themſelves out a mile and a half, that ſhe might not paſs them in the dark. The ſhip at length fell in with the Hector, and after a ſhort engagement ſhe was taken. This ſhip came from St. Thomas's in the bay of Bengal, and was bound for Malacca; ſhe was of 900 tons burden, and had above 600 perſons, men, women, and children on board. In five or ſix days they had entirely unladen her cargo, conſiſting of 950 packs of calicoes and pintadoes, a great quantity of rice and other goods. After which, a ſtorm ariſing they returned the ſhip to her commander, ſent all her men on board, and then left her riding at anchor.

On the 24th of October, they again caſt anchor in the port of Achen, when the general went on ſhore, and found all the merchants highly ſatisfied with the entertainment they had received from the king during his abſence. The general therefore, to expreſs his gratitude, choſe ſuch of the prize goods as he thought would be moſt agreeable to his majeſty, and preſented them at his firſt going to court. The king received the preſent, welcomed the general, and ſeemed to rejoice at his good ſucceſs againſt the Portugueſe; but jeſtingly told him, he had forgot the moſt important buſineſs he had requeſted from him, which was the fair Portugueſe maiden; but the general replied, That he met with none who

deſerved that honour. The general afterwards commanded the merchants to put on board the Aſcenſion, all the ſpices they had bought in his abſence, which were ſcarcely ſufficient to complete her lading, and there was no more to be expected till the next year; he reſolved therefore to ſail to Bantam, where he was told, that he would meet with a good ſail for his commodities, and plenty of pepper much cheaper than at Achin. But before his departure, he went to court and had a long conference with the king, who delivered him a letter for the queen, written in Arabic, with a preſent to her majeſty of three rich pieces of cloth of gold, and a ring ſet with a very fine ruby. He alſo made the general a preſent of another ruby ring. On his taking leave, the king aſked him, if the Engliſh had the Pſalms of David amongſt them, to which he anſwered that they had, and ſung them daily. Then, ſaid the king, I, and theſe nobles about me, will ſing a pſalm to God for your proſperity, which being ended, the king aſked him to ſing another pſalm, though it were in his own language, and there being twelve in company, they immediately complied with his requeſt. This done, the general took his leave, when the king ſaid, he hoped God would bleſs them all in their voyage, and conduct them ſafe to their own country, adding, if hereafter your ſhips return to this port, you ſhall find the ſame good uſuage you have hitherto experienced.

On the ninth of November, they left Achen*, and after keeping company ten days, the admiral diſpatched his letters for England by the Aſcenſion, ſhe ſteering her courſe towards the Cape of Good Hope, and they for Bantam in ſearch of the

* See a very particular deſcription of the whole iſland of Sumatra in general, and of Achen in particular, in Commodore Beaulieu's Voyage.

Sufan, which had orders to lade at Priaman. Continuing their courſe, they paſſed the line, the third time, and reached Priaman on the 26th of November, where the Sufan had purchaſed about 600 bahors of pepper, and 66 of cloves. Their pepper coſt them leſs than at Achen, though none grows near the port; it being brought from a place called Manangacabo, at eight or ten leagues diſtance in the country.

Priaman produces no other commodity but gold duſt waſhed out of the ſands of the rivers that fall from the mountains. It is a good place of refreſhments, and is very healthful, for though it lies within fifteen minutes of the line, the air is extremely good.

The general having taken in proviſions, and ordered the captain of the Sufan to complete her lading with pepper as ſoon as poſſible, and then to depart for England, ſailed on the 4th of December towards Bantam. On the 15th, he entered the ſtreights of Sunda, and coming to an anchor under an iſland, called Pulo Panſa; the next morning he made the road of Bantam. On the 17th, the general ſent Capt. Middleton to inform the king, that he was come by order of the queen of England, and had both a meſſage and a letter from her, requiring his majeſty's ſafe conduct, that he might land and deliver it.

The king anſwered, that he was very glad of his coming, and ſent a nobleman back with the captain to welcome the general, and accompany him on his landing. Being arrived at court he found the king, who was a child of ten or eleven years of age, ſitting with ſixteen or eighteen noblemen about him. When Mr. Lancaſter paying his reſpects, the king welcomed him, and after ſome diſcourſe, he delivered the queen's letter into his majeſty's hand, with a preſent of plate and other things, which the king received with

apparent pleaſure, and referred the general to one of his nobles, who was then protector. After talking an hour an half on different ſubjects, that nobleman invited him to land his men, aſſuring him, that they might buy and ſell without moleſtation, and with as much ſafety, as if they were in their own country. He was then allowed liberty to chuſe a houſe, and within two days, the merchants brought goods on ſhore, and began to ſell; but one of the king's nobles coming to inform the general, that the king muſt be allowed to furniſh himſelf before his ſubjects, he immediately agreed that he ſhould, and the king being ſerved, the merchants again went forwards with their ſales with ſuch diſpatch, that in five weeks time they ſold more goods than would pay for the lading of both the ſhips, and brought from thence 276 bags of pepper, each of which contained ſixty-two pounds, and coſt five rials and a half of eight, beſides anchorage and the king's cuſtom. The anchorage for both ſhips amounting to 1500 rials of eight, and the cuſtom was one rial of eight upon every bag.

As faſt as they bought their pepper, they ſent it on board, ſo that by the 10th of February 1603, their ſhips were compleatly laden, and ready to depart. In the mean time, Capt. Middleton of the Hector, fell ſick on board, upon which the general went to viſit him, but though he found him walking about, he died early the next morning.

The general now ordered the pinnace, which held about 40 tons, to be laden with commodities, and putting in her twelve men with ſome merchants, ſent her to trade and ſettle a factory at the Moluccas againſt the return of the next ſhips from England. He alſo left eight men and three factors at Bantam, appointing Mr. Storkey, the principal perſon among them, to ſell ſuch goods

as he left behind, and to provide lading for the ſhips againſt the next return. Then going to court to take leave of the king, he received a letter and preſent for Queen Elizabeth, which conſiſted of ſome bezoar ſtones, with one for himſelf, together with a Java dagger.

On the 20th of February, they ſet ſail for England, and after ſuffering by ſeveral violent ſtorms, the ſea, on the 3d of May, beat with ſuch violence on the Dragon's quarter, that it ſhook the iron-work of the rudder with ſuch force, that the next morning, it broke quite off from the ſtern and ſunk. The terror and apprehenſions of the men were now at the greateſt height, the moſt experienced mariners being at a loſs how to proceed: for in this tempeſtuous ſea, the ſhip drove up and down like a wreck, which way ſoever the wind carried her, ſo that ſhe was ſometimes within three or four leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, and was then driven by a contrary wind to almoſt 40°. ſouthward into the hail and ſnow, where they ſuffered greatly by the cold, which rendered their caſe ſtill more deplorable, yet all this while the Hector induſtriouſly kept her company; but after trying ſeveral expedients, they found, that unleſs they could make a new rudder and hang it, they muſt periſh in theſe ſeas. This they were at a loſs how to perform in ſo dangerous a part of the ocean, the ſhip being of 7 or 800 tons burden; but neceſſity obliging them to try all poſſible means, the general ordered the carpenter to make one out of the mizen-maſt, and though they had loſt moſt of the irons which faſtened it, they proceeded with the work, and one of the men dived down the ſide of the ſhip to ſearch what irons were left behind, when he found only two whole and one broken.

The rudder being finiſhed, and having a fair day, they faſtened it on, and proceeded homewards, but within three or four hours, the ſea

took it off again, and they had much ado to ſave it, with the loſs of another of their irons, ſo that now having only two to hang it by, the men deſpaired of ſucceeding, and deſired to quit the ſhip and go into the Hector; but this the general oppoſed, and going into his cabbin, wrote a letter to Englaud to be carried by the Hector, which he ordered to depart, and leave him there, without letting one of the company know of it. This letter being delivered, the general expected the Hector would have left him in the night; but he found her within ſight in the morning, and ſhe ſtill kept two or three leagues from him, for the maſter, who was an honeſt worthy man loved the general, and was loth to leave him in ſuch diſtreſs. However, the people on board now found it neceſſary to exert themſelves; the carpenter mended the rudder again, and within two or three days, the weather beginning to be ſomewhat fair, and the ſea ſmooth, they made a ſignal to the Hector, who came up, and the maſter bringing with him the beſt ſwimmers he had in his ſhip, helped them to hang the rudder again ſo firmly, that they were in hopes of at length getting into a port.

Being ſenſible that they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope by the height they were in to the northward, they ſailed directly for the iſland of St. Helena, which to their great joy, they reached on the 16th of June, and caſt anchor in twelve fathoms water, oppoſite a ſmall chapel which the Portugueſe had built there long before. On their landing, they found many writings, by which they were informed that the Carracks had departed but eight days before. Here they found wild goats; but they were very hard to be caught: the general therefore, appointed four of the beſt markſmen he had, to go into the middle of the iſland with four men to attend on each, to carry the goats that were killed to the rendezvous, and every

day there went twenty men to fetch them to the ſhips, who took care not to make any noiſe that might frighten the animals, and by this means the ſhips were plentifully ſupplied. While they ſtaid there, they repaired their ſhips, and all their ſick recovered by the refreſhments they received on ſhore, of which they had great need, ſince they had been continually beating the ſea for three months without ſeeing land.

On the 5th of July, they ſet ſail from this iſland, ſteering northweſt, and on the 11th of September 1603, completed their voyage, by arriving ſafe in the Downs.

THE

EXPEDITION

OF

COMMODORE BEAULIEU,

TO THE EAST-INDIES.

Commodore Beaulieu, with three ſhips under his command, ſails from Honfleur Road, on the ſecond of October. 1619. After a voyage of three years and two months, he arrives ſafe at Havre de Grace.

THE author, M. Beaulieu, bore the moſt diſtinguiſhed character, both for his integrity and abilities. When the French, in the year 1616, firſt formed a deſign of trading to the Eaſt-Indies, this gentleman, who had before ſailed to the river Gambia, on the coaſt of Africa, was promoted to that command, though he had no other recommendation than his merit. Of this expedition, he has written the following account, which was firſt publiſhed in Thevenot's collection. As this performance has been univerſally eſteemed, and gives a very juſt idea of trade, we ſhall give an abſtract of it in the author's own manner.

On the 2d of October, 1619, I ſailed from Honfleur road with three ſhips; the Montmorancy of 450 tons, 162 men, 22 guns, and 20 padereroes; the Hope of 400 tons, 117 men, 26 guns, and 20 padereroes: and an advice boat, called the Hermitage, of 75 tons, 30 men, 8 guns, and 8 padereroes: all victualled for two years and a half.

On the 17th, we came in ſight of Madeira, which, though it lies very high, the weather was ſo foggy, that we could ſcarce diſcern it. As the Montmorancy was deep laden, and embarraſſed with an unwieldy rudder, which two or three men were ſcarcely able to manage, we reſolved to make the beſt of our way to Cape Sierra Leona, in order to have a new one made, or to alter the old one.

On the 1ſt of November, we made the coaſt of Africa, between the river Senegal, and Cape Verd, and the next day, about eight in the morning, doubled that cape, which lies very low, and coaſted along the ſhore, in order to get into Rufiſco road, but the wind being contrary, prevented us.

On the 15th, having reſolved to ſend the advice boat to the Idol iſlands to purchaſe proviſions, I furniſhed the boat with caſſave, and knives, which were proper commodities for thoſe iſlands, and reinforced its complement with Capt. Soyer and ſix ſoldiers, ordering Capt. Ridel, who commanded the pinnace, not to treat with the natives without hoſtages, nor to ſtay there above three days at moſt; but with all poſſible expedition to rejoin us at Tagrin.

On the 19th, we deſcried the Idol iſlands, in 9°. 30'. north latitude. They are covered with wood, and except Tagrin, are the higheſt land between Cape Verd and Cape Sierra Leona. The largeſt, and moſt ſouthern of theſe iſlands, is called Great Idol, which affords water and ſeveral ſorts of fowls; but its inhabitants, who are very numerous, are not to be dealt with without hoſtages. The Leſſer Idol alſo affords water. Beſides theſe two, there are other ſmaller iſlands; but they are ſo inconſiderable as not to be diſtinguiſhed by any name: thoſe given to theſe two, are taken from a river of the ſame name on the continent, the mouth of which lies oppoſite to them, at the diſtance of about three or four leagues. The natives, who are negroes,

are idolaters, great hunters, and feed upon the fleſh of elephants,

On the 23d of November, we arrived at Cape Sierra Leona, which lies in eight degrees north latitude, and caſt anchor at Tagrin. On the 28th, I cauſed the rudder to be taken on ſhore, where, having poſted a ſtrong guard, and fortified the place with felled trees, I ſet the carpenters to work upon it, and then walking a little farther up into the country, found at the bottom of the creek a ſmall brook of ſweet and clear water, the banks of which, towards the ſea, were adorned with a great number of citron-trees, willows, and pretty thick woods. I alſo found ſome plains fit for paſture, though the ſoil is mixed with ſtones and iron-coloured rocks. The natives live in houſes that are much better built than thoſe at Cape Verd: they are negroes, and worſhip little frightful images, and ſmall lumps of black earth, which I underſtood to be the neſts of ants. To theſe they offer fruits, and alſo the heads of monkeys, baboons, and other beaſts. The place where we lay was the third creek from Cape Sierra Leona, and is conveniently ſituated for taking in water, wood, citrons, oranges, and hoops for water-caſks, which are all to be had for little or nothing. We had very good rice, in exchange for equal quantities of ſalt. The country, however, affords no fleſh, but fowls, which are very ſcarce; but all the creeks are well ſtored with ſeveral kinds of fiſh.

On the 3d of December, two negroes came on board, one of whom was armed with a bow, arrows, a ſword and a knife: the other, who was the interpreter, told me, that he who was thus armed, was ſent by the king to acquaint me, that the Portugueſe up the river had murdered the captain and whole crew of a St. Malo's bark: that the king was ſorry ſuch a thing ſhould happen near his territories, and that if I choſe to reſent it he would fur-

niſh me with negroes to conduct me to the place where the Portugueſe had lodged the bark. On my firſt hearing this news, I ſuſpected that the Portugueſe had contrived the meſſage to induce me to ſend a detachment of the land guard, to give them an opportunity of carrying off the rudder and water-caſks that were landed; but upon ſecond thoughts, calling to mind the humour of the Portugueſe in that country, and the weakneſs of the St. Malo's ſhip, I concluded the account not improbable, and thought my ſlighting ſuch intelligence might leſſen the reputation of the French in that country. I therefore reſolved to ſend a detachment; but to carry on this affair with more ſecurity, I cauſed the rudder to be brought aboard; for the carpenter's work being finiſhed, there wanted only iron-work, which might be done on board, by ſetting up a forge in the ſhip. Having ſecured the principal avenues to the place where we lay, I ſent our ſloop up the river, with an addition of ten men to her complement, together with Capt. Pile's bark, manned with his own men, and the Hope's long-boat, with twenty men and four padereroes, all under the command of M. Monteurier; but on the 8th of December, in the afternoon, they returned, and M. Monteurier reported, that he had been ten or twelve leagues up the river, where finding it grow narrow and rocky, and having no commiſſion to venture the loſs of the bark, he returned without meeting any Portugueſe, or ſeeing of their veſſels.

After we left this coaſt the weather was various, as uſual in theſe ſeas. On the 6th of January, we croſſed the equinoctial line, and performed the uſual cuſtom of the French, of throwing ſea-water upon thoſe who had never paſſed it.

On the 3d of February, being becalmed, we ſaw two great fiſh, with long beaks, or horns, which ſeemed to be of that ſort that are known to pierce

ſhips. I could ſcarce have credited the ſtory of their penetrating through ſhips, if the governor of Dieppe had not ſhewn me a piece of the beak of ſuch a fiſh, found in the ſide of a veſſel belonging to Dieppe, laid up to be caulked after an Eaſt-India voyage. The captain of which had found ſomething ſtrike againſt his ſhip, as ſhe ſailed from the coaſt of Braſil to the Cape, but did not know what it was till that diſcovery. This piece of the beak reſembled the tooth of a ſea-horſe, only it was ſtraight all along, and of the colour of ivory. It was an inch and an half in diameter, it had run five inches into the wood, and was broke off where the lining joined the timber, probably by the ſtruggling of the fiſh to recover its liberty. Thoſe I ſaw on this occaſion ſeemed of the ſmalleſt ſort, one of them that came juſt under us, appeared to be ten feet long, beſides its beak. It was a fleſhy fiſh, though not ſo big in proportion to its length as a porpoiſe. Its colour was a dark blue, and its fins and tail, which were very large, appeared in the ſea of a bright azure. It had a pretty high lump upon its back, reſembling that of an Indian ſea-calf, which ſometimes riſes above the water. Its head was not unlike that of a porpoiſe, only it was longer, and inſtead of a ſnout, had this horn or beak, which was very ſharp at the point, almoſt two feet long, and as thick as a boy's wriſt. It is a very ſtiff and ſwift fiſh; for I have ſeen it fly at bonitos, with which it wages continual war, and have often obſerved bonitos and albacores wounded by it, and the ſea tinctured with their blood. I am certain there are ſome of this ſort much larger than thoſe I ſaw at this time, which attack the whales, and it is not improbable, but their miſtaking a ſhip for a whale may occaſion their encountering with it.

On the 11th of March, we ſaw ſea-weeds three or four fathoms long, cormorants, ſea bears, and the fowls called by the Portugueſe alcatras, which

are white, with only the tips of their wings black; and all theſe were certain ſigns of approaching the land. We likewiſe ſaw innumerable ſhoals of porpoiſes, and a great many whales. Towards night we diſcovered land, being then in 33°. ſouth latitude. We reſolved to ſteer our courſe to Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope, but did not arrive there till the 15th at night, at which time we caſt anchor, having loſt only one boy in this run.

The next day, I ſent fifty men on ſhore, with ſails, in order to make tents. On the return of the boat, they told me they had found the bodies of ſeveral men, and clothes ſcattered up and down, and a ſmall fortification of earth, which we gueſſed to be built by the Danes; for one of the natives, who ſpoke broken Engliſh, let us know more by his ſigns than his language, that about three months before, five ſhips had ſailed from thence to the eaſtward.

On the 19th of March, ſome muſketeers, who had been ſent in queſt of a ſoldier, who had ſtraggled from us, reported, that they had paſſed along the ſouth ſide of an inland mountain, and ſeen a prodigious number of very large baboons and monkeys; from thence they proceeded along the declining part of the mountains that bound the weſtern ſhore, till they perceived the ſea, at about half a league diſtance.

This report inſpired me with a curioſity to ſee the country: accordingly, the next day I walked out by the back of the Table mountain, and being advanced three leagues, obſerved the ground covered with graſs, interſperſed with many beautiful flowers, with a ſmall rivulet of freſh water gliding along the plain, and loſing itſelf in the ſea, at the foot of the bay. At the foot of the Table mountain, to the ſouthward, I obſerved a great number of trees, ſome of which are capable of affording planks a foot broad, and eighteen or twenty feet

long; their trunks are ſtraight, like that of a pear-tree, their leaves whitiſh and ſmall, their bark reddiſh, and about two inches thick, the heart of the wood white and hard, and the whole tree full of ſap. I alſo obſerved herbs of the ſame nature with thoſe common in France, as ſorrel, fern, and broom; and upon all theſe mountains there are great quantities of fallow-deer as big as harts; monkeys, baboons, lions, white wolves, foxes, porcupines, oſtriches, partridges, and all ſorts of fowl; with other animals that were unknown to me.

The Table Bay lies in 34°. ſouth latitude. It enjoys a very wholeſome air; and ſometimes you may treat here with the natives for beef and mutton. There are more rain and wind in the bay than on the ſhore, for the high mountains ſtop the clouds and vapours, which being driven by the wind, fall in the bay. The height of the Table mountain, from the ſea-ſide to the top, is 1350 feet perpendicular. Table Bay is however a very ſecure road to anchor in.

Some of our men going aſhore, happened to light upon a great ſtone, under which were two ſmall packs of pitched canvas, within which we afterwards found ſome Dutch letters. We diſcovered firſt a piece of pitched canvas, then a plate of lead wrapped round the packet, under that two pieces of freſh cloth, then a piece of red frize all wrapped round a piece of coarſe linen, in which were the letters ſafe and dry. They contained an account of ſeveral ſhips that had paſſed that way, and particularly of an Engliſh advice-boat, that was gone to Great Britain to acquaint the Eaſt-India company with the injurious treatment they had received from the Dutch. They alſo gave notice to all ſhips that paſſed that way, to take care of the natives who had murdered ſeveral of the crew, and likewiſe advice that the Dutch had beſieged Bantam with thirty-five ſhips, and that the Engliſh were forced to abandon it for want of proviſions.

On the 3d of April, we weighed anchor, and being becalmed about two leagues from the bay, were driven by the current from the ſouth upon a little iſland, within a league of which we caſt anchor in twenty fathoms water; but the waves made us roll ſo prodigiouſly, that every thing in the ſhip cracked. This iſland is almoſt round, and about a league in circumference. It conſiſts of nothing but ſand and ſome buſhes, under which the penguins hatch their eggs. A great many adders alſo live in it, as well as camelions and lizards. Upon its rocks, by the ſea-ſide, we ſaw a great number of ſea-bears, which bleat like ſheep: ſome of them are very large, and have a ſkin as thick as a wolf's, with very ſhort hair; both theſe and the penguins taſte very rank of oil. Theſe bears have two paws before, and two fins behind; they live upon fiſh, but cannot ſtay long under water without taking air, and in the night time they retire to the rocks.

While I was a-ſhore, there was ſuch a ſtorm from the ſouth eaſt, that I could not reach the ſhips till the next day, and was forced to ſtay all night upon the iſland. On the 7th, it thundered and lightened violently; the next day the weſterly winds began to blow, and there was ſo thick a fog, that we could not ſee from one end of the ſhip to the other, when having given a ſignal for the other ſhips to follow me by the ſound of trumpets and drums, I returned to Table Bay.

On the 12th of April we weighed anchor again; but having little wind, it was the 14th before we doubled the Cape of Good Hope. On the 16th, we had a violent ſtorm from the north-eaſt at the full-moon, which we foreſaw the night before; for under the wind there appeared a great blackiſh cloud, in the midſt of which we ſaw what the Portugueſe call the Ox's Eye, which is generally eſteemed the fore-runner of a great ſtorm. The ſea ſwell-

ed prodigiouſly, and the ſtorm was indeed very violent, though the air was ſo clear, that in the night time we ſaw the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars. By this ſtorm the ſhips were ſeparated; but on the 17th, when the wind abated and became ſoutherly, I perceived our two ſhips about a league before, and found, to my great ſurpriſe, that none of us had ſuffered the leaſt damage. On the firſt of May, I parted with the Hope, commanded by Capt. Grave, whom I ſent to Bantam, and on the 18th, caſt anchor in St. Auguſtine's Bay in the iſland of Madagaſcar.

On the day after our caſting anchor in St. Auguſtine's Bay, I went with two long boats and fifteen muſketeers, to take a view of the river. When upon our approaching the ſhore, we obſerved nine or ten negroes upon a ſandy point, who made a ſignal for us to come to them: upon which we went on ſhore, and notwithſtanding our being armed, they joined and talked with us above an hour, letting us know by their language and ſigns, that they were well pleaſed with us, and would viſit us the next day on board. They were very curious in obſerving what we had about us, and one of them, who ſeemed to be a leading man, ſpying a ſilver whiſtle with a chain to it, which my mate had about him, very earneſtly begged for it. Upon which, I ordered the mate to ſhew it him; they all liked it extremely, and the chief perſon amongſt them, offered to give an ox for it, but I made him underſtand that we could not ſell it, and if any of them would come on board, I would ſhew them what they would like as well.

Immediately the principal perſon, and three others embarked with us, making ſigns that the ſame number of our men might be left aſhore, to which I conſented. In the mean time, at one caſt of the net, we drew up a prodigious number of ſmall fiſh, reſembling herrings, both in form and

taſte; but I could make no material remarks upon the river, except that it was very large and rapid. The natives are the handſomeſt negroes I ever ſaw; they are tall and well ſhaped, feed well, and have neither flat noſes nor thick lips. Their teeth are white, even, and ſmall, and they rub them every minute with a ſmall piece of wood. They are very curious in their hair, which is long, frizzled, and made up in wreaths at the top. They wear a cotton cloth, woven of two or three colours round their waiſt, the reſt of their body being naked. He, who appeared the principal perſon, had a large plate of bone or ivory, perfectly white upon his forehead, a large copper ring at his ears, and about his neck a collar of raſſade, beſides glaſs beads of ſeveral colours, and a necklace of fine yellow amber, which he highly eſteemed. The reſt had ornaments which correſponded with his, except the plate in his forehead. The men are circumciſed; and though this inſtitution has been long eſtabliſhed among them, I imagine they received it from the Mahometans upon the coaſt of Ethiopia who have long traded with this country. Some of our men told me they left their women about half a league off in the woods, who were very agreeable, and clothed from their breaſts to their knees, with a party coloured cloth of cotton, having their ears pierced in many places, with a number of ear-rings and bracelets hanging to them. On the men's coming on board the ſhip, they were aſtoniſhed at its ſize, and greatly pleaſed with the ſound of the trumpets and drums. I made them a preſent of ſome enamelled rings, and others of pearl and falſe amber, and diſcourſed with them till ſupper was ready. Mean while, they were ſeized with the ſea ſickneſs, upon which they would go upon deck, and lie down upon a ſail, when one of them not being ſo ſick as the reſt, did nothing all night but banter his companions, and

imitated every word the men upon the watch ſaid to each other. In ſhort, theſe are the moſt merry negroes I ever ſaw; they have a lively imagination, and readily apprehended the ſigns we made to them.

The next morning by break of day, I found them upon their legs and much better. I then ſhewed them ſuch little things as I thought they would like, as coral, yellow amber, raſſades of all colours, of which they liked the red, blue, and green, but not the white; a copper baſon, tin veſſels, cloth of ſeveral colours, knives, razors, and combs, all which they ſeemed to be well pleaſed with, and deſired the gift of them; but when I ſpoke of their horned cattle, they always came back to the ſilver whiſtle and chain.

Finding I could make nothing of them, I ordered them to be ſet on ſhore, and ſeveral of our men going with them, carried ſome of the above goods, to try what they could do with the other natives, when one of them offered a large fat ox, with bunches upon his ſhoulders, like thoſe on the back of a camel, in exchange for a copper baſon: but he who bore the ivory plate on his forehead ſpeaking to him, he returned the baſon and wanted the ſilver whiſtle and chain. In ſhort, I found they reſolved to deal for nothing but ſilver chains.

The next day, hearing that the natives were come down to the ſhore with their cattle, I ſent our men to them with chains of ſteel and copper, and with toys of lattin, jet, and ſome things in imitation of pearl, with orders to conceal the ſilver chain, and not to exchange it, till they had tried if any of the former would do; for I had no mind to make them acquainted with that metal. However, they let me know they would deal for nothing but ſilver chains, and would give no more than one cow, for as much as would go round the

neck of the talleſt of them, and meet with the two ends at his navel. When being unwilling to part with the ſilver chain, and at the ſame time, being in want of their cattle, I reſolved to have a chain made of pewter by a goldſmith we had on board, and for that end melted a plate; for on my offering them ſilver and pewter ſpoons in a heap together, they choſe the pewter ones, becauſe they were brighteſt, and alſo when I offered them a large ſilver baſon, ſilver cups and even a gold chain, they would give me nothing for them; but ſtill wanted the chain that was along with the whiſtle.

The next day they came on board without hoſtages, bringing ſome hens and capons, a pretty deal of milk, ſome peas, and horn-ſpoons made after their faſhions. Theſe men were fond of our red raſſade, but we eat very little of it. However we exchanged what we had at a pretty good rate, for they gave a large fowl for every ſtring of it. Theſe perſons lodged all night on board, and were not ſick as the others were. They fed heartily, eat a great deal of broiled fleſh, and three times as much bread as one of our men. The peas they ſold us where white, and as large as a muſket ball, and the beſt I ever taſted, They eat them raw, and next to their milk, I believe, they are their beſt food.

On the 26th, I ſent the pewter chain and ſome red raſſade on ſhore; but they ſoon perceived that the chain was not the right. However, they exchanged fowls for half a ſtring of raſſade, javelins and darts for the ſame quantity, and a wether for a whole ſtring. Theſe javelins and darts were well made, for the natives work very prettily in iron and copper, and in my opinion, their iron of which they have great plenty, is as good as any in Spain. They ſold us a ſmall quantity of rice at a very high price; but though I ſhewed them ſome

red coral, cryſtal, and other toys, they did not like them.

On the 27th, they brought down as many cattle as covered a quarter of a league, ſtill demanding the ſilver chain for an ox, the red raſſade for their ſheep and pullets, and the blue for their milk. Upon which, I demanded three oxen and a ſheep for the ſilver chain, when their king or governor, as I marketed in my long boat, ſent for me to come aſhore, in order to ſhew him the chain. This, however I declined, and let him know, that if he would condeſcend to come on board, he ſhould be very ſafe, and I would ſend ſome of my men on ſhore as hoſtages. After ſome deliberation, he came on board, when I was ſorry that I had no proper preſent to make him. However, having four ſtrings of red raſſade in my hand, and obſerving that he looked at them with ſome attention, I made him a preſent of them, though I thought them beneath his acceptance. He, however, accepted them with pleaſure, and in return made me a preſent of a ſheep. I had a great mind to have given him half of the ſilver chain, which was five feet and a half long, and weighed three ounces and a half; but conſidering if I was a prodigal of this admired curioſity, I ſhould have nothing to purchaſe horned cattle, or elſe ſhould be obliged to rob the mates of their ſilver whiſtles, I deferred doing it. But ſome time after the king, reflecting upon the chain, ſent me one of the ſtateſieſt oxen I ever ſaw, which we bought for half of it; we had, however, a great deal of trouble in bringing the beaſt on board, for though it received in its head two piſtol ſhot, one harquebuſs, and one muſket ſhot, we were forced to give him ſeveral blows on the head with an ax, and then to drown him, before we could get him on board.

Theſe oxen are ſhort and thick, they have ſmall heads, ſhort necks, and each of them has a large

lump of fat upon the joining of the neck to the ſhoulder, which at a diſtance appears like a burthen tied upon that part Their ſheep, as to their head and wool, reſemble thoſe of Barbary; but their ears hang down like a hound's, and their tail contains ten or twelve pounds of pure fat. Their fowls are alſo large, fat, and well taſted.

On the 28th, I went to ſee a little iſland in the mouth of the river, whence I returned to the place of bartar, where the natives waited for us, with a great number of cattle. I this day bargained to double the advantage I had done the day before; but having allowed ſome of my men to go on ſhore to trade for themſelves; the natives, ſome time after, ſuddenly demanded four ſtrings of red raſſade for a ſheep, though they had juſt before ſold me ſeveral for two apiece, upon which I called all my men into the boat where I always traded. This was, however, no ſooner done, than the governor of the natives appeared in a paſſion, and ordered all the natives to retire, when fearing leſt our mutual friendſhip ſhould be thus broken, I made a ſignal to ſpeak with him, upon which he came down to the ſhore, and I landing, made him a preſent of a cutlaſs with a ſilver hilt, aſſuring him, that I was his friend, and earneſtly deſired that I and my men might live in perfect friendſhip with him and his people. The governor was highly ſatisfied, and the negroes ſent forth loud acclamations of joy, when cauſing the trumpts to ſound, and the drums to beat, I ordered a party of the men to come on ſhore, and ſhake hands with the natives. Mean while, the governor made me ſit down by him, and admiring the trumpets and drums, offered me an ox for each of them. But I told him I could not part with them. After this we ſold the reſt of our ſilver chains for two heifers each, and a ſtring of coral beads for an ox,

and then returned on board, letting the natives know that we ſhould be gone in four or five days. The next day, one of our officers went on ſhore, and ſold four ounces of a ſilver chain for ſix fat oxen, which I cauſed to be ſalted.

On the firſt of June, I went with twelve men in our little ſkiff, in order to reach the mountains, rowing up a ſmall creek, but finding it ſurrounded with buſhes and ſteep rocks, we rowed about half a league up an arm of the river to the ſouthward, where I landed, and having walked up a third part of the mountain, I perceived that the other arm of the river to the northward was ſtill larger. On the ſea ſide, and for two leagues up the river, there are thick woods, and beyond them very pleaſant fields. All the fifteen days I ſtaid upon this iſland, I obſerved but one cloud, and yet the heat is far from being exceſſive, it being tempered by the land breezes from the ſun-ſetting till 10 or 11 o'clock in the fore-noon, and by the ſea gales which blew from that time till ſun ſetting. I found the air of the bay very healthy, we not having one ſick man on board. The mountains are a dry rock, the ſurface of which looks as if it were burnt, and the low country is covered with an infinite number of buſhes and ſhrubs; there are the greateſt quantity of tamarind-trees I ever ſaw, and alſo ebony and aloe-trees. We ſaw in the hands of the ſavages ſome ſmall cucumbers, that ſeemed better than ours, and which they eat like pears: they had likewiſe a great number of gourds, ſome beans and peas, a little rice, and ſome citrons.

Having refitted our ſhips, and furniſhed ourſelves with freſh proviſions, wood, and water, we ſet ſail from Madagaſcar, and on the 9th of June, came in ſight of Terra Firma, between Sofala and Moſambique, and having paſſed by two ſmall iſlands, ſaw a high and ſandy coaſt, with a woody country behind it; and further to the weſt, a low land co-

vered with large trees, that appeared as if they were planted in the ſea.

On the 13th, we came in ſight of one of the iſlands of Comoro, which is very high, and as conſpicuous as Madeira. The next day we obſerved another iſland, called Majotta, which is not ſo high as the former, and abounds with proviſions and fruit. This laſt iſland is inhabited all along the ſhore, and is cool, moiſt, and covered with verdure. The tide carried us weſtward along the coaſt, to a point, where we came in ſight of a ſhip, upon which I ſent out our long-boat with ten muſketeers, who brought me word that it was a veſſel of forty tons, bound from Mecca, and that the captain taking us for Dutch ſhips, had run all the goods on ſhore. The captain of this veſſel ſhewed me two letters, one from an Engliſh commander called Martin, and another from Capt. Banner, to inform their countrymen, that they had taken in ſeveral refreſhments at that place, eſpecially fruit: that they had found no water, and that linen, cloth, and paper, were proper commodities for that place; adding, that care ought to be taken not to diſoblige the inhabitants, who, though they appeared friendly, were able to do them a great deal of miſchief. The road being ſurrounded with rocks, the Arabian maſter adviſed me not to attempt landing without fetching a pilot from the ſhore, and accordingly I ſent my boat along with him, and in the afternoon he returned with two of the inhabitants, who before ſun-ſet brought our ſhip ſafe to an anchor. I then ſent the Arabian maſter back to his own ſhip, with full aſſurances of the innocence of our deſigns, and the friendly diſpoſition of the French, together with a letter to the ſame purpoſe, addreſſed in Spaniſh to the king of the iſland.

On the 17th, the king ſent ſome of his chief favourites to aſſure us of his friendſhip, and readineſs

to ſupply us with whatever the country afforded. Upon this, I ſent him a preſent of a ſilver hilted hanger, a couple of very handſome knives, a ream of paper, and a looking-glaſs, which he received with pleaſure, and in return ſent me a young kid and ſome fruit. I at the ſame time deſired the Arabian captain, who was then on ſhore, to buy me ſome proviſions, promiſing to ſend ſuch commodities as were proper to be given in exchange. Upon this the captain ſent me word, that the inhabitants of the iſland were of ſuch a particular humour, that they would not conclude a bargain of the value of half a rial in a day's time, and would not buy a yard of cloth, without calling all their relations and neighbours to fix the price they ſhould give for it. I was alſo informed, that a Portugueſe carrack, having been caſt away upon that iſland, about three years before, the inhabitants were ſo overſtocked with rials, that they ſet no value on them.

The next day, having obſerved a couple of ſhips belonging to that country, I had the captains brought on board, when they informed me, that they came from the iſland of Majotta; that they were laden with rice and dried fiſh, and were bound for Monbaze. The next day they ſupplied me with as much rice, peas, and hung beef, as would ſerve us for four months; of which I was very glad, as I could buy nothing of the inhabitants without an infinite loſs of time. Beſides, I began to ſuſpect their honeſty, for the day before, when we were ſounding in order to come to an anchor, ſome of them made a ſignal for us to come over a place where we obſerved a long ridge of rocks; whence, I preſumed, that the advantage they had made by the ſhipwreck of the Portugueſe carrack, had tempted them to wiſh us the ſame fate.

Finding that the water was brackiſh, we weighed anchor on the 21ſt by break of day, when the

Arabian captain underſtanding that I deſigned to double Cape Comorin, adviſed me to ſtop for ſix weeks at the iſland of Socotora, to avoid the uſual ſtorms upon the coaſt of Malabar.

The above iſland, which was called Nangaſija, extends about fifteen or ſixteen leagues from north to ſouth, and is about three or four leagues in breadth. We could obſerve no other anchorage but that where our ſhip rode, which was on the north-north-weſt point: that road is however dangerous, and hard to be found by ſtrangers. This iſland itſelf affords a pleaſant proſpect, eſpecially to the northward. From that ſide the mountains riſe gradually, and are covered with trees; and below, upon a clear ſandy creek along the ſhore, there are a great number of houſes ſheltered with groves of cocoa, orange, and citron trees. Their oranges are very ſmall, but ſweet and delicious, reſembling both in taſte and ſhape thoſe of China. The inhabitants are negroes, but are neither ſo handſome nor ſo well ſhaped as thoſe of Madagaſcar. They are all zealous Mahometans, and are marked with a hot iron upon their temples, and the middle of their foreheads.

The iſland is governed by ſifteen petty kings, among whom the king of the place where we anchored is the ſtrongeſt. Theſe kings make war upon one another, and ſell the priſoners they take upon theſe occaſions to the Portugueſe and other nations. We ſaw no arms among them, but a few that belonged to the king, which were ſome fuzees and piſtols, that were preſented him ſome time ago by the Engliſh, and which he greatly valued. They behave with great civility and reſpect to ſtrangers, except when they ſee them ſtand upright and make water, for then they ridicule them with prodigious ſhouting.

The Arabian ſhips, which are called pengays, are ſtrangely built, for the planks are neither

nailed nor caulked, but ſewed together with a ſort of thread made of the rind of the cocoa-tree, and tarred or pitched above the ſeams, whence they are ſo leaky, that five or ſix men are conſtantly employed in heaving out the water. Beſides, they always ſail right before the trade winds, for the Arabians will not venture to ſet their ſide to the windward. They have no decks, and carry about fifty or ſixty tons.

Eight days after our leaving the iſlands of Comoro, we croſſed the equinoctial, and on the 1ſt of July, the wind being very high, we ſailed fifty-five leagues in twenty-four hours, though moſt of our ſails were furled, which let me know, that, upon that coaſt, the currents run with great rapidity before the wind.

On the 24th of July, we caſt anchor near Cape Orpin; but theſe high winds continued, without intermiſſion, till the 3d of Auguſt, during which time, I could neither ſend our boats on ſhore, nor hoiſt up a ſail. However, I now reſolved to ſtand for Cape Guardafu, in order to examine our tackling, to take in freſh water, and to receive directions from the natives, about our coaſting on to Socotora, where none of us had ever been. With this view, I ordered our long-boat to be fitted out, and ſupplied with proviſions for three days, directing the men to make land, and to learn of the natives where we might take in freſh water.

They returned on the 12th, and reported, that they had coaſted along the ſhore to the eaſtward of the place where we rode, under ſteep mountains, on the tops of which, they ſaw perſons in mean Arabian habits, who threw ſo many ſtones at them, that they were obliged to keep at a greater diſtance; for notwithſtanding all the ſigns of peace and friendſhip they could make, the natives ſeemed to intimate by their ſwords and aſſagays, that if they came on ſhore they would cut their throats. They

then ſteered to a part of the coaſt oppoſite to the place where we lay at anchor, where ſome of them getting through an opening up the precipice, found a wide champaign country, which extended as far as the eye could reach, without any trees, except ſome withered buſhes burned by the ſun. They alſo obſerved two or three of the natives, who, on their approach, fled farther into the country. They lay that night under the precipice, and the next day, ſteering two or three leagues to the weſtward, obſerved ſome of the natives on the ſhore, who, on the boats offering to approach them, ran up the hill. After they had doubled the cape, they found a bay three leagues broad, which extended a great way within land, but was very ſhallow. They there found two of the natives employed in fiſhing, who inſtantly fled. Our men then landed, and ſaw many of the inhabitants, who, notwithſtanding their holding a white ſtandard, fled from them, crying aloud, Illa Alla illa la Mahommed reſulala, which is the Mahometan confeſſion of faith. After they had reimbarked, they obſerved the natives peep out again; but could find no opportunity of treating with them, either by friendſhip or force.

On the 17th, we weighed, and two days after, came to an anchor within the Cape of Guardafu, in nine fathoms water. On the 19th in the morning, I ſent one boat's crew in queſt of a ſpring of freſh water on the ſouth, and another to coaſt along the ſhore to the north-weſtward (which extends to the mouth of the Red Sea) either to find water or to ſpeak to ſome of the inhabitants; and at the ſame time I ſent my little ſkiff to try what conveniency we could have for fiſhing: but ſhe ſoon returned without ſucceſs. Thoſe ſent in queſt of water to the ſouthward informed me, that they had travelled four or five leagues into the country, which was deſert, dry, and inſufferably hot. The

other boat's crew reported, that having ſailed about three leagues, they came to a place which appeared pretty green, and going on ſhore, met with ten or twelve negroes, who they aſked for water, when one of them demanded a piece of cotton cloth belonging to one of the ſeamen, as a reward for the diſcovery, and having obtained it, ſhewed him ſome ditches and wells.

On the 22d about noon we came to an anchor, about four leagues from Cape Guardafu, over againſt ſome buſhes and greens, which are not common upon that coaſt, and having ſent about thirty men on ſhore, they found great plenty of water, after digging only a foot deep. This water was at firſt ſweet, but after we had filled a barrel or two it became ſalt, ſo that we were obliged to dig in above ſeventy places, in order to obtain twenty-two tons of freſh water,

Cape Guardafu lies in 12°. north latitude, the needle varying 17°. 45'. It riſes to a precipice, and is the higheſt land upon all this coaſt, which is a barren deſert tract of country, ſo ſcorched by the ſun, that I queſtion whether there is a hotter place on any part of the globe.

On the 27th we weighed anchor, and having ſailed about twelve hours, fell in with great tides, running out of the Red Sea, and a few hours after obſerved the ſea very much troubled, and ſtained with red ſpots, which ſome took for ſiats; but we could diſcover no ſuch thing by ſounding. The next day, a conſultation of the pilots being called, it was reſolved, that we ſhould run ſeven or eight days backwards and forwards in the Red Sea, for fear the wind, we then had, ſhould carry us too ſoon on the coaſt of Malabar.

At the entrance of the Red Sea, and along the coaſt of the Caſſines or Guardefines, there is a prodigious quantity of fiſh, eſpecially thorn-backs, ſome of which are as long as a boat, and pro-

portionably thick ; but ſome of our men ſtriking at them with a grapple, it pierced their ſkin no more than if it had been iron. This part of the coaſt of Arabia is ſandy, and in ſome places low ; but in the inland parts there are very high mountains, that were covered with fogs all the time we were there.

The calm obliging me to ſtay in the mouth of the Red Sea till the 10th of September, I began to apprehend our being too late to double Cape Comorin, and for that reaſon ſtood north-eaſt, till we fell in with the ſouth-weſt winds.

On the 26th we came in ſight of the coaſt of Malabar, which is very high and mountainous. Two days after, ſeeing a ſhip two leagues to the windward of us, I ſent M. Monteurier with 23 men in the long boat, ordering them not to board the ſhip ; but command the captain to ſend his pilots and purſer on board us, and to let him know, that I deſigned him no harm ; but only to be informed, if it was not too late to double Cape Comorin. Some time after, I perceived our long boat board the ſhip, and after that, a boat come off and made towards us. As we were all this time becalmed, and the boat advanced but ſlowly, I ſent our ſkiff to know what news they brought, which I was in pain to hear ; and upon its return, I found that the people in the boat were five of our men, three of whom were dangerouſly wounded, and theſe coming on board gave the following account ; that upon their approach to the ſhip, which was a large one, M. Monteurier ordered them to lower their ſails, which they not obeying, he fired at them two braſs guns and a volley of muſket ſhot, upon which they ſtruck, and told him he might board them if he pleaſed ; upon this, they entered the quarter deck, and having killed all the men abaft, thought themſelves entirely maſters of the ſhip, when ſuddenly, ſixty

or eighty men ſtarted up in the forecaſtle, and with hangers and ſhields in their hands, ruſhed upon our men, and obliged them to retire to the boat, but that was ſo belayed, that they were unable to diſengage her, by which means, moſt of our men were killed with pick-axes, arrows, and hand-granades, which were thrown into the boat, and the reſt being forced to leap into the ſea, one of them ſwam to the Arabs boat, and having cut the cable, ſaved himſelf and the other four men, without ſtaying for the reſt, who were in all probability drowned,

The next morning, I made all the ſail I could to come up with the ſhip, and having boarded her, found only fifteen poor old wretches with white beards, reaching down to their girdles, who throwing themſelves at my feet, raiſed my compaſſion rather than revenge, and beſides, the five men who were ſaved unanimouſly aſſured me, that they did not ſee them in the engagement. Theſe poor men told me, that the ſhip, having carried a cargo of pepper to Mecca, was upon her return to Panama near Calicut, to which place ſhe belonged. They were poor people coming from Mecca to beg upon that coaſt. That the owners of the ſhip, who were eighty in number, had gone off the night before in our boat with all the gold and ſilver, and as the boat was already overladen, had left them behind.

Upon the whole, I conſidered that theſe poor wretches were entirely innocent, and that the avarice and cruelty of our men occaſioned their death, ſince the Moors had ſtruck, and had no deſign of injuring them till our people fell upon them. For theſe reaſons, I ſpared the old men. I found on board the ſhip a great quantity of dates, wine, ſalt, two puncheons of opium, ſome hundred weight of coral, cotton cloth of ſmall value, knives, and roſe-water.

On the 2d of October we were off Cape Comorin, whence we ſtood for Ticow, and on the 11th of November, came in ſight of land in 1°. 40'. north latitude; but the frequency of the calms, and the ſickneſs of the men retarded us greatly; for the pinnace had not above two or three hands fit for buſineſs; in my ſhip there were not above eighteen capable of doing duty, and beſides two of our ſurgeons were dead. I now deſcried ſeveral ſhips of that country under ſail, and to engage them to ſteer towards us, put on a white antient; but finding that this had no effect, I ſent my ſkiff to ſpeak with one that ſtood between us and the ſhore, where ſhe endeavoured to run a-ground; but the ſkiff coming up with her, removed the apprehenſions of the men, and I agreed to give thirty-five pieces of eight for a pilot to conduct us to Ticow. They belonged to Priaman, a town about eight or ten leagues to the ſouthward of Ticow, which, they told our people, lay beyond ſome iſlands a-head of us. Having paſſed theſe iſlands we came in ſight of a high promontory of the main land, which had two banks, on the laſt of which we ſhould certainly have run foul, if one of our men had not ſeen it from the main-top-maſt; for we could not ſee it upon deck, and our pilot had given us no notice of it. Having weathered this dangerous place, we ſaw another a-head of us, upon which we ſteered between theſe two, ſounding all the way, and the night overtaking us, we dropped anchor between them. This ſhore lies off a place called Pageman, which produces a great deal of pepper. There is here a large creek, at the bottom of which is a low country covered with woods: but we could perceive in the inland parts a high mountain, pointing like a pike. Having weathered the point of this creek, we deſcried the three iſlands of Ticow, and at laſt, having ſpent two months upon a voyage that is commonly performed in eight days, landed

at Ticow on the firſt of December, having loſt ſince the 2d of October twenty-five men, and if the calm had continued only fifteen days longer, I believe I ſhould have loſt all the men in my ſhip.

Having caſt anchor, we ſent our ſkiff aſhore, which brought us one Pedro, who had been interpreter to the Engliſh factory in that place. From this interpreter I learned, that though the country produced a great deal of pepper, we ſhould not be allowed to buy it without a licence from the king of Achen, who was ſovereign of all that coaſt. He alſo informed me, that the Hope had touched upon the coaſt about twenty leagues off, in the latter end of July, and that her long-boat was ſent with fifteen men to this place to take in freſh proviſions; that a Dutch ſhip in the road fired upon the boat; but upon complaint being made, they excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, they took them to be Engliſh. That the fifteen men having met with a kind reception, and taken in what proviſions they wanted, they departed in ſearch of the Hope; but not being able to meet with her, returned to this place, where ſeven of them died in October; four went in a Dutch ſhip for Achen; three in another Dutch ſhip for Bantam, and one continued in the country, where he earned his bread by gathering of pepper.

I was much concerned at hearing that captain Grave had been ſo inconſiderate as to ſend his long-boat ſo far from him, eſpecially on my being informed, that among the fifteen men he had loſt, there were two principal commiſſaries and a pilot. Upon farther enquiry, I was informed, that the Hope had caſt anchor at a large iſland about twenty leagues to the weſtward of that place. That ſhe had not ſuffered ſhipwreck, ſince the veſſels of that country, which go to and fro, had never diſcovered any wreck, and that the two commiſſaries, before their death, were of opinion that the ſhip

had been driven from her anchors by ſtorm, and not being able to make her former ſtation, had made the beſt of her way to Bantam, expecting that I, according to my promiſe, would touch at this place, and take up her men.

On the ſecond of December, being allowed to go on ſhore, I carried ſome preſents along with me, without which one muſt not expect to be made welcome in this country. Upon my landing, the governor and principal officers gave me an honourable reception, and having told them my country and buſineſs, they let me know, that I was at liberty to buy up what proviſions I wanted, provided I paid for them in rials and knives, and no other commodity. As for pepper, and other things produced in the country, they could not diſpoſe of them without a licence from the king; but if I would ſail to Achen, and obtain his majeſty's leave to erect a factory there among them, they ſhould be glad to deal with us. I then deſired permiſſion to hire a houſe in the city for the accommodation of my ſick men, and to remain on ſhore to buy up proviſions; to which they replied, that they could not anſwer for the ſafety of the men on ſhore, on account of there being many rogues about the town; but if I pleaſed, I might leave two men for a few days to buy up proviſions.

However, the governor having ſent me a buffalo and ſome fruit, I went to return him thanks, and by virtue of ſome preſents, obtained his permiſſion to hire a houſe, in which I lodged forty-three ſick men, with three ſurgeons, a prieſt, and three to attend them. In the mean while I had ſeveral preſents ſent me of fruit and young kids, particularly from the governor of Priaman, who earneſtly preſſed me to make him a viſit. Upon which, I returned him my thanks, with ſome preſents,

and promiſed to wait upon him the firſt opportunity.

On the 10th there arrived three gallies belonging to the king of Achen, with an elephant and 300 men in each, and the inhabitants of Ticow informed me that they expected a farther reinforcement of men and elephants, in order to carry on a war againſt a prince who had revolted from the king of Achen. When conſidering that I had fifty men at Ticow, and fifty at an iſland with the water-caſks, beſides eight or ten who were always out with the ſkiff, ſo that I had but a few left on board, though I had frequently eighty or 100 of the natives in the ſhip, ſome by way of viſit, and others to ſell proviſions; I ordered the hatches to be nailed down, and a rail to be run between the main-maſt and fore-maſt, fortified by two great padereroes mounted on wheels, and five more upon the bittacle. I alſo cauſed a guard to be placed upon the deck, and two muſketeers, with as many halberdeers, to ſtand at a door in the rail, which I never ſuffered to be opened, but when I received a viſit in my cabbin.

On the 13th, I went aſhore, and finding my men recovering ſlowly, waited upon the governor, to aſk leave for them to ſtay fifteen days longer, which he readily granted; but he entreated me to go to Achen to obtain a licence from that king, for erecting a French factory there. He alſo adviſed me not to be jealous of the inhabitants, or to fear any injury from them, which it ſeems I did, ſince I had made a fortification in my ſhip, and mounted more guns than before. To which I replied, that my coming ſo careleſſly on ſhore, and leaving fifty ſick perſons in their hands, was a ſufficient proof of the confidence I put in the natives. That the deſign of the barrier in my ſhip was only to keep thoſe I did not know from running into my cabbin, that I might be able to put ſome diſ-

tinction between an orankay or nobleman, and a fiſherman, and that I had not mounted ſo many pieces of cannon, if I had not heard that two Dutch ſhips were expected, of whom I had reaſon to be jealous. Upon this, he told me, that I had much more reaſon to miſtruſt the Dutch than them; however, that if I pleaſed, he would forbid the natives going on board; but I aſſured him that they ſhould be always welcome, and that I did not at all miſtruſt them.

Ticow lies in 20°. ſouth latitude. The inland country is very high; but towards the ſhore it is low, covered with woods, and watered with ſeveral ſmall rivers, which render it marſhy. It is chequered with ſeveral pleaſant meadows, and well ſtored with buffaloes and oxen, that may be purchaſed for four or five rials a-piece. It affords plenty of rice, poultry, ducks, and ſeveral ſorts of fruit, as durions, ananas, oranges, citrons, pomegranates, water-melons, mangoes, cucumbers, and potatoes. The riches of the country conſiſt in pepper, which it produces in great plenty, and is much more eſteemed than that of Bantam. The city of Ticow lies about half a league from the ſeaſide, oppoſite to a little iſland where the ſhips ride: it is but a mean place, for the city and ſuburbs together do not contain 800 houſes, which are built with reeds, and are neither ſtrong nor convenient. The country, however, is very populous, eſpecially at the foot of the mountains, where the pepper grows.

The king of Ticow is ſubject to the king of Achen, who appoints a new governor every three years, and without him the king of Ticow can do nothing of importance; whence foreigners have more buſineſs with the governor than with the king, and the very natives pay him more reſpect. The inhabitants of the city are Malayans, and theirs is the only language ſpoken all along that coaſt.

However, the inland parts are poſſeſſed by the natives, who diſown the king of Achen's authority, and have a peculiar language and king of their own. Theſe are idolaters; they have rich gold mines, which they do not know how to manage; for they only gather the gold out of ſome ſmall ſhallow ditches, and out of the trenches made by the floods. This gold they exchange with the Dutch, or the inhabitants near the coaſt, for pepper, ſalt, iron, cotton, red cloth, and Surat pearls, on which they ſet a high value; but among the Malayans, gold is as dear as in Europe, and at Achen it is ſtill dearer.

The Malayans are of an olive complexion, and being Mahometans, their women are all kept up, and not ſuffered to appear in the ſtreets; but the people are ſo diſhoneſt, that in the night time, a man cannot ſleep in ſafety. From July to October, the air is very unhealthy, and the people are ſubject to fevers, which ſeldom admit of a cure; ſo that if it were not for their pepper, nobody would venture to come near them. They gather their pepper chiefly in December, January, and February. No trade can be carried on at this place without a licence from the king of Achen; but if you have that, neither the king nor the governor of Ticow can diſturb you. For want of it, I could neither ſell any commodities, nor buy any pepper, except about 8000 pounds weight that was brought me by night from Priaman, at a reaſonable price.

The commodities of Surat go off very well, as do alſo thoſe of Maſulipatan; rials are current enough; but the money of Achen does not paſs: It conſiſts of ſmall pieces of gold from the mine, which the people weigh with ſcales; they ſell their pepper by bahars, a weight containing 116 pounds avoirdupois, and the king of Achen has 15 per cent. of all that is ſold, that is, ſeven and a half for the export of the pepper, and ſeven and a half

for the import of the rials, or commodities given in exchange for it. Beſides the above-mentioned impoſt, for every hundred bahars, twenty five rials are paid to the king of Ticow, and an inconſiderable allowance to ten or twelve perſons more. It is particularly neceſſary to obtain the friendſhip of the governor, and to have a watchful eye over the Malayans, who are apt to wet the pepper, or to mix among it ſand or little ſtones.

On the 1ſt of January, 1621, having brought our ſick on board, who were pretty well recovered, I weighed anchor, and ſteered for Achen. On the 14th, we were off Barros, one of the moſt conſiderable places on that coaſt belonging to the king of Achen, where no perſon can trade without the king's permiſſion. This place is half way between Ticow and Achen, and affords plenty of Benjamin, which ſerves the natives inſtead of money. The country is pleaſant, abounding in ſeveral ſorts of wine and fruit, but bears no pepper. It however affords plenty of camphire. Rials will ſcarcely paſs there; but the Surat, or coaſt commodities, go off very well. Both the inhabitants of the coaſt, and the Dutch and Engliſh, buy up their camphire in order to carry it to Surat and the ſtreights of Sunda.

On the 13th of February, we came to an anchor juſt by an Engliſh ſhip of 600 tons, and immediately a boat came off from ſhore with ſeveral of the king's officers, carrying a chappe, a dagger with a gold handle and ſcabbard, which, as it belongs to the king, is to ſhew that the perſon who bears it has his commiſſion. After a profound ſilence, he who carried the chappe welcomed me in the king's name, and ordered me to come immediately on ſhore. I accordingly got ready; but before I could come off was obliged to pay the officer's dues; theſe amounted to above eighty rials, beſides a great looking-glaſs for the eunuch, another for

one of his friends, and ſome ſmall ones for his principal officers. This done, I went on ſhore, where the captain of the Engliſh ſhip invited me very kindly to dinner, and to lodge at his houſe; and having accepted his invitation to dinner, I was very handſomely entertained. The Engliſh captain complained heavily of the king, that he would not let him have his pepper under fifty-four rials the bahar, though thirty rials was as much as it was worth. Finding that I could not ſpeak with the king that day, and that he had ſent his chappe twice for an emerald I wore on my finger, and would not be ſatisfied with my promiſe of bringing it the next day, I returned on board.

On the 7th of February, I prepared the preſent I deſigned for the king of Achen, and reſolving to oblige him as much as poſſible, took a letter which I had drawn up, and having addreſſed it to the moſt illuſtrious king of Achen, ſealed it with red wax, with the impreſſion of the arms of France. That my preſent might not be unworthy of the prince in whoſe name I deſigned to preſent it, I ſet apart the following particulars. The complete armour of an horſeman, engraved and gilt; a German hanger, with a carved and gilt hilt, to which hung a piſtol; ſix muſkets, the barrels of which were partly engraved and partly gilt, the butt ends enriched with mother of pearl; two heads of pikes enamelled and guilt; a very large looking-glaſs which was broken; but I pretended to have received it entire, and that I durſt not neglect delivering it, having received the king's orders for that purpoſe; two large flaſks of excellent roſe-water, and two pieces of crimſon camblet-watered.

The captain of the Surat veſſel came to ſee it, and told me, that a preſent of ſuch magnificence was more fit for his maſter, the great mogul, than

for the king of Achen. The king's officers alſo came to my houſe to take an inventory of the preſent I deſigned to make; but let me know, that they thought it not conſiderable enough for their prince, who was a great ſovereign, and had but few equals in the Indies. I replied, that I was acquainted with the grandeur of the king of Achen, and at the ſame time knew the value of the preſent, which did not come from a private man, but from a powerful prince, and merited a reception from any prince whatever.

On the 8th, I was conducted to an audience of the king by the ſabandar and four of the principal orankays, in the following manner. Upon a great elephant, ſat one of the principal orankays in a covered pulpit, who ſent me a large ſilver diſh covered with a cloth embroidered with gold and ſilk of ſeveral colours, in which I put the letter, and then returned it to him. By his command, one of the orankays, the ſabandar, another perſon and I, rode upon another elephant. The proceſſion began with ſix trumpets, ſix drums, and ſix hautboys, which ſounded till we arrived at the caſtle. Then followed fourteen or fifteen men, each carrying a piece of my preſent covered with yellow cloth, without which nothing could be preſented to the king. Then followed two orankays riding upon Arabian horſes, before the elephant that carried the letter, and then came the elephant on which I was placed, followed by three ſabandars, and all the officers of the Albandeque on foot. On our arrival at the caſtle, we alighted, and when we had entered the outer gate all the men were obliged to retire. We then paſſed two other gates, and I was ordered to pull off my ſhoes, without which ceremony I could not have audience of the king. Some time after, the royal chappe was brought, and being put into my hands, I raiſed it above my head, and re-delivered it to him who brought

it. I was then ordered to follow it, being only accompanied by a ſabandar, and an orankay.

We waited ſome time at the king's chamber door, which was covered with plates of ſilver; and at laſt an eunuch came out, and told the ſabandar, that though the king was more indiſpoſed than uſual, yet as I was ſo near, he would bring me in. Upon which, I was led into the chamber by two men, each of them taking me by the hand, and ſet upon a Turkey carpet with my legs acroſs, according to the cuſtom of the country: when the two men retiring, I ſaluted the king in the uſual form, that is, by joining my hands, and lifting them up to my forehead, at the ſame time bowing my head. The cuſtom does not oblige one to take off one's hat, but I, being unuſed to appear before perſons of his quality with my hat on, choſe to put it off. The king ſat upon a place about two feet higher than me, and informed me by the ſabandar, that he was infinitely obliged to the king of France for the preſent he had ſent him, which was more valuable to him than ten bahars of gold. He then opened the letter, and gave it me to interpret to the ſabandar, who underſtood a little Portugueſe. But his knowledge of that language was ſo very imperfect, and the ſtile of the letter ſo different from that uſed among them, that I could not make him underſtand it, for the very firſt words, Moſt Illuſtrious, put him to a ſtand. Upon which, I turned it to Deareſt Brother, with which the king was much pleaſed, ſaying, that he knew that the Chriſtian princes uſed to uſher in their letters by ſuch expreſſions. At length, finding that I could not make the ſabandar underſtand every word, I repeated the ſubſtance of the letter in ſhort, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty deſired his mightineſs to grant me a free and undiſturbed traffic in his territories, and in like manner promiſed to protect his high mightineſs's ſubjects, if any of them ſhould

happen to come into his kingdom. That he desired nothing more than that a commerce between his subjects and those of Achen should bring him to the knowledge of so great a prince, and that he had sent him a present of arms, in the making of which his subjects excelled.

This done, the king informed me by the sabandar, that I was both welcome and safe in his territories: that as to trade, the English and Dutch had used to have pepper in his kingdom at an easy rate; but as they had shewed such ingratitude, as to make war upon the king of Bantam, who had condescended to give them a kind reception, he had caused all the pepper plants to be cut down, for fear they should prove the occasion of trouble to him, by which means the price of pepper was raised to sixty-four rials the bahar, and that even at that price, he did not much care to let them have it, as he knew they would do any thing in order to engross the trade of the Indies to themselves.

I replied, that the insolence of the Dutch in offering to dethrone kings who had shewn them civilities, would be a surprising piece of news in France; that I was struck with amazement to find a people, who pretended to nothing but carrying on a fair trade, and whom the king of France had long protected against the Spaniards, should on this side of the world slight us, and use all means to do us an injury, and that as I had no commission to use any manner of violence, or to fortify any place, but only to buy and sell in a fair way, I ought not to be ranked with a nation whose very conversation I avoided.

Upon this, the king ordered some salliad to be given me in a large gold vessel, and also a suit of his own clothes that were brought in a silver dish, and which he ordered me to put on. Having retired to the next chamber, and put on these clothes above my own, I returned to his majesty, who told

me the arms my maſter had ſent him, would be very ſerviceable to him in the ſiege of Malacca, which he had in his view, and aſked me if I would accompany him thither. To this I replied, that I ſhould place my ſupreme happineſs in doing him any ſervice. He then put ſeveral queſtions to me about the age and the power of the king my maſter, and on my telling him that he was in peace with all the world, and in particular with the grand ſeignior, he ſaid he would enter into a ſtrict alliance with the king of France. This done, I was mounted upon an elephant, and conducted home.

On the 11th, being called to ſpeak with the king, he ſhewed me two pike heads I had preſented him with, and which above the carved work were at firſt covered with enamel; but the king having given them to one of his own goldſmiths to be carved and gilt, the paint went off as ſoon as the goldſmith put them in the fire. The king therefore wanted to know if I could think of any body who was capable of reſtoring them to the ſame condition they were in before. I told him I knew of none, upon which he cruelly ordered that the poor fellow who had put them into the fire, ſhould have his hands cut off.

The king then told me, that he heard I had a goldſmith on board, and deſired me to order him to enamel a large gold ring of his, that weighed above an ounce, which he delivered to me.

This prince was very curious in all lapidary and goldſmiths' works, for he had above 300 goldſmiths that were daily employed in working for him; and he ſhewed me a great number of ſtones, both ſet and unſet, which were for the moſt part bored at the ends; ſeveral necklaces and chains of large emeralds; garments embroidered with jewels; large veſſels of gold covered with jewels, many ſwords, hangers and daggers, with both the hilts and ſcabbards ſet with precious ſtones; and a vaſt

number of gold claſps to put upon his robes; and he let me know that ſix days would not be ſufficient for taking a view of all his jewels and precious ſtones. Whether he told me this out of oſtentation or not, I cannot determine; but the greateſt part of what I ſaw were rather ſtones of ſhew than value, though he ſhewed me ſome that were very rich, particularly three diamonds, that might weigh from fifteen to twenty carats each; two very large rubies, and an emerald he got in the conqueſt of Pera, which was one of the moſt beautiful ſtones I ever ſaw. On my leaving the king, I ſet the goldſmith to work, and was ſorry I had one on board, being afraid, that if the king liked his performance, he would delay us on his account.

On the 19th, the king ſent a ſabandar to invite me to dinner. When I came, I found his majeſty in a ſquare hall, the floor of which was covered with a Turkey carpet, upon which he made me ſit down, and after ſome ſallad was given me in a large gold diſh, the cover of which was all over ſet with emeralds, he aſked me ſome queſtions about the grandeur and power of the Chriſtian princes. There then came in about thirty women, each carrying a large ſilver diſh, which they ſet on the carpet, each diſh being covered with a cloth of gold, and ſilk, with jewels trailing upon the ground. Theſe women having ſtood for ſome time, the king ordered dinner to be ſet before me, upon which they uncovered the diſhes, each of them as big as a large baſon, and together with the lid about two feet and a half deep: out of each of theſe diſhes they drew ſix gold plates filled with meat, paſtry, and dried ſweet-meats, ſo that in leſs than a minute I was ſurrounded with gold diſhes, ſome containing water, others ſauces, and one, which was very large, was full of rice; among the reſt were two diſhes of tembac, which they highly eſteem. It is made of rice, and the king ordering

me to eat of it, I found it very good, for its taſte reſembles our marchpane. Afterwards an eunuch, by the king's order, brought me ſome drink in a gold cup ſet in a large gold baſon, upon which I drank to his majeſty's better health, and thought to have toſſed off the whole, but the liquor was ſo very ſtrong and fiery, that I found it impoſſible; when the king told me, that as I had drank to his health, I ſhould drink it all; and that if he were to drink to the king of France's health, he would not leave a drop of it; but at my deſire, it was changed to a weaker ſort. I was very much preſſed to eat and drink; but being at laſt tired with ſitting croſs-legged, I deſired the ſabandar to preſs me to eat no more. Upon which, the king ordered all the diſhes to be removed, and bid me once more drink his health; this being done, they brought a very fine carpet, the ground of which was gold, and this was ſpread on the floor between the king and me.

Then came fifteen or twenty women, who ranged themſelves by the ſide of the wall, and each of them having a little drum, ſung the king's conqueſts, making their voices anſwer their drums. There afterwards came in at a ſmall door two little girls very oddly dreſſed; but very handſome, and fairer than any I ever ſaw in ſo hot a country. Upon their heads they wore a kind of hat made of gold ſpangles which glittered extremely, together with a ſort of plume, about a foot and a half high, made of the ſame ſpangles. This hat was placed on the ſide of the head. They had large pendants hanging at their ears, formed of gold ſpangles that reached to their ſhoulders. Their necks were covered with gold necklaces, and over their ſhoulders was a kind of jacket of cloth of gold curiouſly wrought, under which was a waiſtcoat of cloth of gold mixed with red ſilk. They had a broad girdle made of gold ſpangles, from which hung behind

a piece of cloth of gold, and under it they had breeches made of the ſame ſtuff, that reached no lower than their knees, where hung ſeveral gold bells. Their arms and legs were naked, but from the wriſt to the elbow, and from the ancle to the calf of the leg, they were adorned with golden bracelets ſet with jewels. Each of them had a ſword at her girdle, the hilts and ſcabbards of which were covered with jewels, and in her hand a large gold fan, with ſeveral bells about it.

Theſe young beauties, thus adorned, advanced upon the carpet with great gravity, and falling upon their knees before their king, paid him their reſpects, by joining their hands and lifting them up above their heads; they then began to dance with one knee upon the ground, making ſeveral motions with their body and arms, after which they danced upright with great agility, ſometimes putting their hands to their ſwords, at others, making as if they ſhot with a bow, and at others, again acting as if they had a ſhield and hanger in their hands. They danced with a very good grace, and I am perſuaded that had a French dancing-maſter ſeen them, he would have owned that their performance did not deſerve the name of barbarous. After they had danced about half an hour, they again kneeled before his majeſty and retired.

At length, it growing late, the king, at my deſire, ſuffered me to go, after his having firſt made me a preſent of two hundred pieces of gold of his coin, called maſſes, worth about ten-pence a-piece. The ſabandar then conducted me home by water, and aſſured me he never ſaw the king ſhew ſuch reſpect to any ſtranger, eſpecially in ſuffering his women to dance before me; for during the entertainment, the whole company ſhut their eyes, it being a capital crime for them to look upon the king's women, though I indeed looked at them very earneſtly all the while, for I preſumed they

were not brought thither to make me ſhut my eyes.

On the 19th of February, an orankay and two ſabandars came on board in the king's name to demand two ſwords, one of which I had promiſed him. I immediately gave them both my ſwords, deſiring them to acquaint his majeſty that I had no more, and as it was unuſual in France to go abroad without a ſword, I hoped he would let me have one of them again, which he did the next day, with a preſent of a dagger made after the faſhion of the country. The perſon who brought it, ſaid, the king liked one of them extremely, becauſe it did not bow when they offered to bend it, and if the other had not bowed, I had never ſeen it again.

As no body dared to ſell me a grain of pepper till the king had ſold his; I at length waited upon his majeſty with ſome preſents, in order to obtain leave to buy pepper of his ſubjects: for he always ſold his for half as much more as others did. I found him at a cock-fighting, and laying very high wagers with his orankays. Upon my entrance, he made me a preſent of a dagger, which had the value of about five or ſix livres of gold about the handle; but I found him ſo intent upon his bets, that it was not proper for me to mention my affair at that time. I could not help taking notice of one inſtance of his avarice and readineſs to ſacrifice every thing to his cruel and ſordid diſpoſition. One of the company pitched upon a middle ſized cock, offering to bet upon his head againſt any other of what ſize ſoever. Upon which, an orankay, who had ſome of the king's cocks in keeping, preſented a very large one, and upon this, the king betted very high, when the little cock beating the great one, the king loſt his money. This raiſing his reſentment, he aſked the orankay, how it came to paſs that the little cock had more

ſtrength than the great one, when the orankay anſwering with all poſſible humility, that he could not conceive how it was; the king replied, he could conceive it very eaſily, that it proceeded from the cock's being ill fed, and that he had given the cock's rice to his whores, or elſe eat it himſelf. This ſaid, he ordered his right hand to be cut off, which was immediately put in execution.

The next day, the ſabandar came to my houſe, and informed me, that the king, from his particular affection to me, would let me have his pepper at forty-eight rials the bahar; though private perſons would have ſold it, if they dared, for thirty-two rials; and on my begging to be allowed to take in my lading at Ticow, had the aſſurance to propoſe my giving him 4000 rials, and making the king a preſent of 20,000, for a licence to ſettle a factory at Ticow for two years.

Some time after, the ſabandar and an eunuch came to let me know, that the king wanted to ſpeak with me. In obedience to his commands, I went, and found him much out of humour, and giving orders for tormenting five or ſix women; and to my great mortification, I was obliged to ſtay while theſe poor creatures were tortured with the utmoſt cruelty, for three hours in his preſence, his wrath increaſing in proportion to their torments; but at laſt, an end was put to their tortures, he ordering their hands and legs to be cut off, and their bodies to be thrown into the river. The occaſion of this inhuman execution was as follows.

On the preceding night, when there were five or ſix of his women in a room adjoining to his, one of them gave a violent ſhriek, upon which, the king enquiring what was the matter, was at firſt told by them all, that there was nothing in it, but after many threats, ſhe that had cried

out confeſſed, that ſome body came in the night, and pricked her in the thigh with a dagger, through the reeds upon which ſhe lay, and that her crying out awaked the reſt; but the others did not agree in their anſwers, ſome ſaying that they heard a noiſe, and others that they heard nothing. However, the dagger was found, but no body would own it. After all, the king having aſked them who it was that came with the dagger, and why they did not tell him the truth at firſt, and being unable to obtain an anſwer, ſuſpected there was a deſign againſt his life, carried on by his own mother, who, he imagined, had alarmed theſe women, that their outcry might induce him to come out of his chamber, which would have afforded a favourable opportunity to the aſſaſſins. He therefore, thought of extorting a true confeſſion of the affair, by putting all the women to the torture; but their reſolution, courage, and conſtancy, were invincible; for notwithſtanding the king's frequent offers of pardon, in caſe they ſhould diſcover the plot, and the repeated intreaties, both of the cady of Achen, and the whole court, who begged of them to be kind to themſelves, they did not ſhrink or relent. One of them, being very old, and ſwooning away from time to time, the king took compaſſion on her, and ordered her to be put to death, upon which ſhe aſſumed a gay countenance, and thanked his majeſty for his mercy, wiſhing that he might be rewarded for this favour, with a long and happy life of 1000 years. In a word, all of them continued undaunted to the laſt gaſp, and even after their hands and legs were cut off, one of them had the courage to ſay, that for the ſpace of ten years, they had longed for this happy hour, that delivered them from the drudgery of the caſtle. When the execution was over, the king aſked me what I thought of it; but though the ſpectacle was very mortifying to me,

yet I diſſembled, and anſwered, that without the execution of juſtice, no kingdom could ſubſiſt.

The king then told me in a long diſcourſe, that if the laſt night's affair had been paſſed over with impunity, his very life had been in danger: that his orankays were fooliſh and unthinking men, who charged him with cruelty, without conſidering that it was their wickedneſs that drew upon them the anger of God, who made uſe of him as an inſtrument to puniſh them. That they had no occaſion to complain of him who ſuffered them to poſſeſs their wives, their children, ſlaves, and competent eſtates; who maintained their religion, and preſerved them from the captivity of their neighbouring kings and the robberies of ſtrangers; that in former times Achen was a neſt of murderers and robbers, in which the weaker were oppreſſed by the ſtronger, and no man was ſafe, all of them being obliged to keep off the robbers, with arms by day, and to barricado themſelves in their houſes by night; whereas at preſent they had no occaſion either for arms in the day, or doors to their houſes by night. That his nobles hated him becauſe he ſuppreſſed extortion, maſſacres and robberies; that they longed to ſet up kings at pleaſure, and murder them when diſobliged: that his mother was in the ſame intereſt, and wanted to make away with him, in order to prefer another who had countenanced their inſolence.

This ſpeech he uttered with ſuch vehemence and paſſion in his looks, that his courtiers threw themſelves upon the ground imploring his mercy, and even the cady, a man above 80 years of age, for whom every body had the higheſt veneration, and who could boaſt of the nobleſt deſcent in Achen, followed their example. In fine, though this cruel prince could obtain no diſcovery by

all his tortures, yet he not only impriſoned his own mother, but put her upon the rack. Five of the principal lords whom he ſuſpected of favouring her, he put to death; barbarouſly murdered his own nephew, the king of Johor's ſon, under the pretence that his mother intended to raiſe that young prince to the throne; and cauſed the ſon of the king of Bantam, and the ſon of the king of Pam, both of whom were his couſins, to be put to death. This monſter has not left one of the royal family, but his own ſon, who has been thrice baniſhed the court; but begins now to be reſtored to favour, and is only ſafe, from his being more cruel than even his father, and his being univerſally hated. In ſhort, this inhuman ſovereign has extirpated all the antient nobility and raiſed a new ſet of them. A day did not paſs while I was at Achen, without the execution of one, and ſometimes ſeveral of his people.

The avarice of this prince was ſo extraordinary, that no repreſentations or preſents could get the better of it; for though he at laſt gave me a licence to buy pepper of his ſubjects, in return for my making him a preſent of an enamelled ring, the firſt perſon who conſented to ſell me any was inſtantly laid in irons. Being at laſt ſenſible, that unleſs I took ſome of the king, I ſhould never be able to purchaſe a grain in the city, I bought 300 bahars at his own price; and was afterwards, to my great amazement, obliged to pay a duty of ſeven per cent. for the very pepper I had bought of his majeſty.

I afterwards bargained with a perſon who was a great doctor in the law of Mahomet, and bore the character of a prophet: but when he had weighed about 1200 bahars, I began to perceive ſome black ſand among the pepper. He pleaded in excuſe, that ſome of his domeſtics had mixed ſand with it, without his knowledge; but though I might have

complained to the king of Achen, who cuts off the hands and feet of thoſe who are found guilty of this fraud, yet conſidering the high character he bore, I was willing to overlook it, and continued having more weighed, till I obſerved the pepper wet.

Wearied out with continual impoſitions of this tyrannical prince, and by the low arts of his ſubjects, I reſolved to depart, and on the 27th of June, he ſent me his letter to the king of France, which was brought to my houſe with great pomp; it being carried upon a large elephant by one of the principal orankays, attended by a number of officers of rank. Before the elephant went four drums and four trumpets, and four large umbrellas ſurrounded it. But all this ſplendor was at my coſt, for I was obliged to ſatisfy not only the principal orankay who brought the letter, but all who accompanied him. The letter was carried in a ſilver baſon in a red velvet bag with gold ſtrings, and was written in the Achen language in letters of gold, upon very ſmooth paper, with ſeveral gildings and colourings round it.

On the 24th of July we ſet ſail, but met with ſuch calms, that it was the 7th of Auguſt before we made Pulo Lanchachay, though it is but four days ſail by the trade winds.

The day after my arrival the governor of the iſland came on board, and told me, that he would not ſuffer me to trade with the inhabitants without a licence from the king of Queda, which he did not doubt but I might have, if I aſſiſted him with ſome artillery. On the 12th, the governor having left his own ſon with one of the principal men of the iſland for hoſtages, went in perſon with two of my men to inform his majeſty of my arrival. The king of Queda had then retired three days journey up into that country, for fear of the king of Achen's army: however, ſome days after I received a letter from the Sieur D'Eſpine, one of the perſons who

went along with the governor, to inform me that there was but little pepper in the iſland, and to my great mortification, I found this intelligence but too true; for we were come too late for the laſt year's crop, and too early for this. However, on the 2d of December, the Sieur D'Eſpine ſent me word, that the king had cauſed all the pepper to be gathered in, in order to buy ſome cannon of me, if I were diſpoſed to ſell them.

Upon this advice, I ſent orders to Sieur D'Eſpine to inform himſelf particularly of what quantity of pepper might be expected in that place, and if it was under 100 bahars, to return immediately, without giving himſelf any farther trouble about it; but if it was above that number, to ſolicit the king to ſend a perſon with full powers to treat with me. The Sieur D'Eſpine returned on the 9th, and reported, that his majeſty having a great mind to ſome of my cannon, would give me twice as much pepper for them as I had aſked, if I would ſtay for the ſeaſon for gathering it, or if I had a mind to eſtabliſh a factory there, he would furniſh it every year with 2000 bahars, and exclude all other nations from trading in his territories. The king alſo ſent me a letter, impowering me to trade freely with the natives, and to deſire two of my cannon, for thirty bahars of pepper, which he ſaid was all he had. In the mean time my purſer was detained at Perleys, about ſeven or eight leagues from this iſland, from the opinion that I would come and ſettle a factory there, but underſtanding that the channel between this iſland and Perleys was embarraſſed with ſhelves and flats, and finding that my ſhip did not anſwer the helm as ſhe uſed to do, I choſe to continue where I was, and threatened to ſet ſail with the hoſtages I had on board, if they would not return me my man.

On the 1ſt of October my purſer returned, and I delivered them my two hoſtages. He reported,

that the king had only twenty bahars of pepper, and desired to pay the other ten in rials, at the rate of twenty rials a bahar: that the country was very poor, and rice extremely dear; and upon the arrival of every vessel, the people fled into the country, thinking they belonged to the king of Achen.

Though I had resolved not to let him have any cannon, I thought fit to amuse him with fair words till I had taken in fresh water, and with that view, I sent back the purser to acquaint him, that I was very much disposed to deal with him; but could not bring my ship to Perleys, because my rudder was out of order; and that to shew my willingness to oblige him, I was ready to send one of my cannon on shore, provided he gave me two hostages to insure the delivery of twenty bahars of pepper within eight days. With this offer he was so pleased, that he sent me word, there was no occasion for giving hostages, or landing the piece of cannon, till the pepper was got ready, which would be in six or seven days. I here caused to be cut down a main-top-mast, a mizen-mast, and a bowsprit, which I could not have elsewhere. If I could have staid till January, I might have loaded my ship with pepper at a quarter of the price it cost me at Achen, and besides at that time the trade winds coming east would have stood fair for my returning directly to France; but my men were so few and so discouraged, that I could not think of waiting.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Pulo Lanchachay, and by the natives of Achen, Pulo Lada, or the Island of Pepper, lies in 6°. 15'. north latitude. It is about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference, and is in some places mountainous. In the middle of the country, there are two high mountains separated from each other by a very narrow valley, and at the foot of these mountains is a plain which extends three or four

leagues in length. In this plain the pepper is produced; but the iſland is only inhabited by about 100 perſons, and is far from being cultivated ſo well as it might be. The ſoil of this plain is very proper for all ſorts of drugs, fruit, rice, and cattle, is alſo enriched with excellent paſturage, and many ſprings and rivers. The reſt of the iſland is covered with very thick woods, in which, eſpecially upon the mountains, there are ſome trees perfectly ſtrait, of an incredible heighth, and proportionable thickneſs. The ſhore on the ſouth ſide is frequently interſected with arms of the ſea, leaving ſmall iſlands and rocks covered with woods. On the north there is a large iſland at about the diſtance of a league, and on the eaſt, it has a bay covered with a little iſland; in this bay, ſhips of 200 tons may ride in ſafety, and be ſheltered from the winds. In a word, there is a very ſafe anchorage all round the iſland; and every part of it affords excellent freſh water. From the beginning of July to the end of October the winds are weſterly, when it rains very much, and the climate, as in other places of the ſame latitude, is unhealthy. At preſent, this iſland produces annually 500,000 pounds weight of excellent large and dry pepper, which is preferable to that of any other place in the Indies. It is ſubject to the king of Queda, and the Portugueſe, who reſide at Malacca come there every year to trade, and continue there from December to February.

The pepper plants grow in a fat ſoil, and are planted at the roots of trees, round which they creep and twiſt like hops. They produce no fruit till the third year, after which they bear for the three following years, ſix or ſeven pounds weight of pepper. In the three next years they decreaſe one third, both in the quantity and ſize of pepper, and thus continue decreaſing for four or five years longer. For the firſt three years the ground about

them muſt be kept very clean, which requires a great deal of pains on account of the moiſture of the climate. When the plant begins to bear, the branches of the tree through which it creeps muſt be lopped off, leſt they intercept the rays of the ſun, which this plant ſtands moſt in need of. When the cluſters of the fruit are formed, care muſt alſo be taken to ſupport them with poles, leſt the branches ſhould be drawn down by the weight of the fruit. They ſhould alſo be planted at a convenient diſtance from each other, that a perſon may get round them with a ladder, in order to prune them, after the fruit is gathered; for otherwiſe they would grow too high, and by that means bear the leſs fruit.

This plant has commonly a white flower in April, which knots in June; in Auguſt the fruit is large and green, when the natives uſe it for ſallad, or make it into rich pickle by ſteeping it in vinegar. In October it is red; in November it begins to grow black, and in December it is all over black, and conſequently ripe. This is generally the caſe, though in ſome places it is ripe ſooner or later than in others. The fruit being ripe, they cut off the cluſters and dry them in the ſun, till the grain falls off the ſtalk, which, notwithſtanding the exceſſive heat, it does not in leſs than fifteen days, during which it muſt be turned from ſide to ſide, and covered up every night. Some of the grains neither change red nor black, but continue white, and theſe are made uſe of in medicine, and ſold for double the price of the other. Of late years, the inhabitants, obſerving that foreigners want theſe for the ſame uſe, have found out a way of whitening the others, by taking them while they are yet red, and waſhing off the red ſkin with water and ſand, ſo that nothing remains but the heart of the pepper, which is white.

Thus the cultivation of pepper requires a great number of hands; but they are now much wanted both in this iſland and the country of Queda, which, three or four years before, were laid deſolate by the king of Achen, ſo that the king of Queda is now obliged to put himſelf under the protection of the king of Siam. The inhabitants are Malayans, but not ſo crafty and diſhoneſt as thoſe of Achen: their habits are much the ſame, but not ſo rich; they are very zealous Mahometans, and their cuſtoms and ways of living, differ but little from the inhabitants of Achen.

Queda has a marſhy ſoil and many brooks that run into a conſiderable river, in which there are a great number of large crocodiles. The country was formerly well peopled, and abounded with all ſorts of proviſions, eſpecially rice and cattle. It was reſorted to by merchants from Pegu, Aracan, Bengal, Jerſelin, the coaſt of Coromandel, and Suart, by the Portugueſe, who reſided at Malacca, and even by the merchants of Achen. The cuſtoms and impoſts at this place were very moderate, till the father of the preſent king, who was a perfidious and cruel tyrant, aſcended the throne: but about three years ago he was carried into captivity by the king of Achen. It is remarkable, that about four years before it was ſubdued, two thirds of the inhabitants, amounting to 40,000, were carried off by a plague: the following year a murrain ſeized upon the cattle, and not only carried off all the king's elephants, but even ſeven eighths of their other cattle, and the third year there was ſuch a ſcarcity of rice and all manner of fruit, that the people ſuffered a terrible famine. The next year, the king of Achen who always lies in wait to plunder his neighbours, took advantage of their diſtreſs, and laid ſiege to the city of Queda, which held out three months, and then the king, with his family and retinue, conſiſting

of 120 men, retired to his palace which he had fortified, and where he was reduced to the laſt extremity; but having continued there about two months, the king of Achen's officers perſuaded him to ſurrender, by alleging that their maſter admired him for his valour, and if he truſted to his clemency, would certainly reinſtate him in his throne. This ſiege was carried on with great vigour by the Achen army, ſo that they fought even in winter when up to the middle in water; for the king ſent them word, he would cut them all to pieces, if they did not bring him the king of Queda. At laſt, having demoliſhed the city and caſtle, they carried that unhappy prince and his family, with about 7000 of the inhabitants to Achen.

The king of Achen gave the captive ſovereign a tolerable reception, till he had drained him and his friends of all they had, after which, he had the cruelty to put to death, not only him and his children, but the principal men among the other captives, confining the reſt to a remote part of the city, where moſt of them died for want, and the poor remainder, amounting to about 500, work at preſent in ſmall huts, one half of the week, to obtain a pitiful ſubſiſtence, and the other half in building the king of Achen's houſes, and manuring his grounds. The preſent king of Queda was ſhut up with his father in Queda caſtle; but finding his unhappy parent was inclined to ſurrender, and to carry all his children and treaſures to Achen, in order to procure a better reception, he privately made his eſcape.

On the 12th of October, I weighed anchor and ſtood for the road of Achen, when the currents carried me upon the iſlands of Boſton, at about the diſtance of five leagues, where I was obliged to drop anchor in order to keep clear of a rock. Theſe iſlands are three in number, beſides many ſmall

ones. They are inhabited, and covered with woods, in which there are ſome trees fit for the maſts of ſhips. They afford good anchorage all round them, and the largeſt has good freſh water in a ſandy creek.

The next day we came in ſight of Sumatra, and on the 27th were within two leagues of the iſland of Puloway, which I deſigned to double, in order to caſt anchor on the weſt ſide of the road of Achen, whence I might eaſily put to ſea, in caſe I ſhould be uſed ill by the king; but the currents were ſo ſtrong, and the winds blew ſo hard from the weſt and weſt-north-weſt, that I was obliged to put into a ſmall creek, and that very evening a veſſel came up to me with a commiſſion from the king to know who I was, whence I came, and whither I was going. For it ſeems the king had heard of a ſhip cruiſing upon his coaſt fifteen days before I came to anchor in that place. This meſſenger informed me, that a ſmall French ſhip had arrived in the road of Achen about eight days before: he happened to know me to be the perſon who had before been at Achen; and on his aſking me whence I came, I ordered my interpreter to tell him, that at my leaving Achen I was bound for Bantam; but having loſt two of my maſts by a ſtorm, was forced to put into an iſland to refit, the name of which I intended to conceal, as I knew the king would be diſpleaſed at my going thither without his leave; but my interpreter immediately told him I had been at the iſland of Pulo Lanchachay.

The next day I was viſited by a veſſel, in which was an Achen man with whom I was acquainted, who told me there was a ſmall French veſſel in the road, and ſome Frenchmen who ſaid they belonged to me, adding as a ſecret, that they were detained by the king of Achen againſt their inclinations.

In the mean time I ſent my long-boat on ſhore for freſh proviſions; but the people would ſell

none, alleging, that the king had prohibited their vending them without his command. As I took the French ſhip in the road of Achen to be our advice-boat, I was apprehenſive that the king might ſtop it, to prevent their having an interview with me, I therefore weighed anchor and ſtood for the road of Achen; but the wind being contrary and very high, I was forced to come to an anchor at the point of a large bay, whence I ſent by land one of the men whom I had redeemed, in a Moor's habit, to carry a letter to the French veſſel in the road of Achen, promiſing him his freedom, if he brought me an anſwer in two days; for we were then but four leagues diſtance from Achen, and he being ſet on ſhore in the night, was ordered to reach that city before it was light.

The next day a large ſhip with Engliſh colours made up to us, put out her long-boat, and brought on board M. Du Parr, one of the men belonging to the Hope. This was a ſhip of 600 tons and 32 guns, and had on board Mr. Grave the captain of the Hope, who was very ill; but not finding me at Achen, was going to Batavia to ſee if he could get a paſſage to France. M. Du Parr gave me the following account of Capt. Grave's proceedings.

After the Hope parted from me, ſhe came to an anchor at a long iſland about twenty leagues from Ticow, to which place the captain ſent the long-boat; but twelve hours after its departure Mr. Grave himſelf ſtood for the ſame port to ſet on ſhore M. Talier, the firſt commiſſary, who was then ill; but the winds and currents being contrary, they not only loſt the men in the long-boat, but all they had on board grew ſick, except the captain and five or ſix more. While they were in this unhappy condition, they met with a Dutch ſhip of 1200 tons, called the Leyden, commanded by William Schovten, upon which

Capt. Grave went to desire their assistance; but was no sooner on board the Leyden, than the Dutch captain sent sixty men in two long boats on board our ship; this they did without opposition, and not only plundered the vessel, but used our sick men most barbarously, turning them out of their hammocks and throwing them upon the deck.

In the mean while the Dutch captain told Mr. Grave that his ship was a good prize, and if they met with me they would serve me in the same manner. A few days after they met with another Dutch ship that had many sick on board, and was going to set them on shore on the isle of Nassau, when Capt. Grave desired that his men might also be landed at the same place, to which they consented; but behaved with such cruelty as shewed they had neither humanity, religion, nor conscience; for they threw the sick men, like so many logs of wood, out of the ship into the boat, and some they dragged with a rope through the water, particularly one who expired immediately upon the rocks on the shore.

In the mean time the commissary of the Leyden became sensible of his crime, and told Capt. Grave he was mistaken, for upon a review of his commission, he found he had no authority to take any French ship, and that he was at liberty to return to his own ship. Captain Grave, however, considering that he stood in need of his assistance, answered with great complaisance, that the commissary was not the first who had been mistaken in matters of as great consequence, and desired that be might have some of the Dutch seamen to man his ship. To this the commissary consented, upon condition that he should forget what was passed, and give a writing to that purpose under his hand, which being done, Captain Grave received his reinforcement, and returned on board the Hope; but the Dutch seamen threatened every day to

throw him and his crew overboard, which they would certainly have done, if the other Dutch ſhip called the Horn, had not been in company. They ſome time after fell in with three Dutch ſhips, upon the coaſt of Sumatra, one of which having a flag upon its maſt like an admiral's ſhip, Capt. Grave went on board her, which he had no ſooner done, than the admiral's ſhip fired upon his, to make her take down their French colours, and the captain ſent back his boat, with orders to take them down.

They now all ſailed for Jacatra, where they arrived in December, when Captain Grave went to wait upon the Dutch admiral, and deſired he would aſſiſt him with ſome ſeamen to conduct his ſhip to Bantam, to which the admiral agreed, provided he would there buy up all the pepper he could get at two rials a ſack, and diſtribute two thirds of it to the Dutch and Engliſh in that road. The captain conſidering his miſerable ſituation, was obliged to ſubmit and ſign an obligation to buy fifteen thouſand ſacks of pepper, 5000 of which were to be given to the Dutch, and 5000 to the Engliſh. At this time the pinnace I had ſent in queſt of him came to Jacatra; but the bargain being ſtruck before her arrrival, Capt. Grave was obliged to go to Bantam, and arrived there at the end of January, where the king gave him a favourable reception, but would ſell him no pepper under four rials a ſack.

In the mean time the Dutch contrary to their promiſe, ſent armed barks up and down Bantam road, in purſuit of the Javeneſe, within cannon ſhot of their walls, and always returned on board the Hope, in order to make the people of Bantam believe that the French gave ſhelter to their mortal enemies. But this the king of Bantam reſented no otherwiſe than by keeping the pepper at the firſt price, upon which Captain Grave reſolved to

take it, and when he had got his lading to return to France, he offered part of what he had got to the Dutch; but they refuſed to have it at that price. The Engliſh however took 150 bags without paying him, which occaſioning his wanting money to pay the king of Bantam, he refuſed to let him have any more, unleſs he would take all he had bargained for.

At length the commiſſary of the St. Malo's company ſupplied him with as much as would complete his lading, taking the Hermitage advice-boat, which I had ſent to him, as a pledge for 1500 rials in part of payment. This done, Mr. Grave reſolved to return directly for France; but he was ordered by three ſhips that lay juſt by him to go to Jacatra; he accordingly went thither, and was there commanded to unlade two thirds of his cargo, and though he ſhewed letters under the Dutch preſident's hand, importing, that they would not ſtand to the firſt bargain, yet they arreſted the captain on ſhore, made ſeven or eight of their ſhips ride at anchor round the Hope, and began to unlade the pepper themſelves, though none of Captain Grave's crew put their hands to it. In the mean time Captain Grave entered a proteſt againſt the injuſtice of the Dutch; declaring, that all the damages iſſuing from that action, ſhould be placed to their account. Soon after a proa was ſeen in a very dark night to come from the place where the Dutch ſhips lay at anchor, and to make up to the ſtern of the Hope, near which it continued ſome time, and then putting off, one of the men cried in the Malayan tongue, that the Hope was on fire. Immediately the Dutch ſhips were ſeen under ſail, they having weighed anchor before, which was a certain proof that they knew of the deſign. Mean while the French ſeamen, finding the fire too far advanced to be extingniſhed, came off in the long boat.

The next morning Captain Grave ſent ſix proas to ſave ſomething in the ſhip, but the Dutch kept them off, extinguiſhed the flames, got all the pepper and artillery out of her, placed them in their own magazines, and ſold the hulk by beat of drum.

After this Captain Grave hearing that I was at Achen, ſet out for that city in the pinnace belonging to the French commiſſary at Bantam, and the reſt of the men came in another bark; but as ſoon as he arrived there, the bark and all that were in her were ſtopped by the king of Achen, when Capt. Grave being taken ill, and not meeting with me there, took the opportunity of embarking for Batavia in the Engliſh ſhip abovementioned.

Having heard this melancholy account of our affairs, I ſent a boat for Captain Grave, received him on board, and ſome days after weighed, and making the road of Achen, came to an anchor among five other ſhips that were in that road, in order to force the king of Achen, to deliver up my men, if he would not do it voluntarily.

Immediately upon our arrival, the king ſent an eunuch on board to welcome me, and deſire me to come on ſhore. To which I anſwered, That I could not truſt myſelf on land, ſince the king had impriſoned my men like robbers, and ſeized upon the ſorry remains of a burnt ſhip, contrary to what might have been expected, after the ſervices afforded him by the king of France, and by me in particular. The eunuch replied, that the king took them for Portugueſe who had ravaged his coaſts, and as ſoon as he was undeceived, had ſet them at liberty, and returned them their money. That he had, it is true, hindered them from going on board the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips for fear they ſhould come to any harm from their mortal enemies, deſigning to put them into the hands of the

firſt French captain that ſhould arrive in that place. To which I anſwered, that the French were eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the Portugueſe, and that though I underſtood he had returned them ſome rials, yet he had detained the value of 2500 rials he took from them, in jewels, coral, bezoar, muſk, and other things. The eunuch told me, the king would certainly return them. However, I let him know, that I was firmly reſolved not to go on ſhore, till my men were on board, after which I would come and receive his commands.

A demand was now made of the duties of the king's chappe, beſides 400 rials for anchorage to be paid to the king, and 200 for the officers of the alfandeque, a late impoſition laid upon all ſhips that ſhould come into that road; but I told them I did not come to traffic, and therefore would not pay a farthing. Some time after the chappe returned, and brought all the men on board; when purſuant to my promiſe, I went on ſhore, and waited upon the king, who complained heavily of my not coming to ſee him ſooner, and told me, that the Dutch and Engliſh had ſpread falſe reports, in order to exclude the French from the trade of Achen: that the men he had impriſoned were repreſented to him as robbers and pirates; but that he no ſooner underſtood they belonged to me, than he ſet them at liberty. That he was afraid the king of France might have taken it ill, if he had put his ſubjects into the hands of the Dutch, who were their mortal enemies, and that he only waited for the arrival of a French ſhip, in which he might ſend them home. But after all, on my thanking him for ſending my men on board, he told me, he had only ſent them to viſit me, for they being ſhipwrecked and loſt men, belonged to him, into whoſe port they came. This, I ſuppoſe, he ſaid to prevent any aſking for what he had taken from them.

I was reſolved to ſtrive once more to obtain a licence for trading at Ticow, and for that purpoſe, offered a diamond to the orankay to engage him to procure it for me; when he told me that I might obtain the licence, provided I made a preſent of a fine diamond to the king, who was then extremely fond of jewels. Upon this, I ſhewed him a rough diamond, weighing twelve grains, which I deſigned for the king, and a cut diamond of five grains for himſelf; but the next day he informed me, that he had ſhewn them to his majeſty, and that the Engliſh having very lately preſented him with large ones, he did not value mine. However, if I could find any that were extraordinarily beautiful, I might certainly obtain my requeſt. Upon this, I bought of a Portugueſe, who was lately returned from Maſulipatan, two diamonds, one weighing eighteen grains, cut lozenge wiſe, and very handſomely ſet, which coſt me 550 rials, and another of nine grains, that coſt me 120 rials; and then I deſired Quylin, a goldſmith, who was now my interpreter, and who uſed to ſpeak very boldly to the king, to let him know that I had ſome jewels, which I deſired to ſhew his majeſty. After ſome time the king ſent for me in order to ſee my diamonds, when I ſhewed him the larger one, which having looked at, he aſked me the price of it, and I told him it was at his ſervice, if he would allow me to buy 300 bahars of pepper at Ticow. To which he anſwered, that if the Dutch would give him 30,000 rials for that privilege he would not grant it them, but he would give me a licence to ſtay twenty days at Ticow, if I would make him a preſent of another diamond like that; but I let him know that I had none ſuch, nor could poſſibly find any. He then deſired me to give him a piece of cannon in the room of it. But I begged his pardon, and deſired to be excuſed. However, finding him bent upon having the gun, I at laſt

agreed to let him have it. When calling for the orankay Laxamane, the king ordered him to give me a commiſſion for trading at Ticow.

I however frequently aſked for my commiſſion to no purpoſe, and at laſt complained of him to the king, who bid me give him a diamond; when I found that the orankay Laxamane could do nothing, the king diſpatching all his commiſſions himſelf, and that the deſign of turning me over to him, was to extort from me another diamond for the king's uſe. On this diſcovery, I gave him one that weighed about ſix grains, and at laſt, after many delays, received from the king's own hand a letter impowering me to trade at Ticow for twenty days.

On the 16th of December we weighed anchor, and arrived in the road of Ticow, on the laſt day of the year. On the 1ſt of January, 1622, I ſhewed the inhabitants of that town the king of Achen's letter, and in this place I bought above 400 bahars of pepper, which coſt me about twenty-five rials the bahar, including the charges of the commiſſion, and the preſents I made at Achen.

The iſland of Sumatra extends eleven degrees in length, from the point of Achen, in 5°. 30'. north latitude, to the ſtreight of Sunda, in 5°. 30'. ſouth latitude, ſo that it is about 620 miles long, and generally about 210 in breadth. The coaſt for the moſt part lies low, though there are very high mountains within the country. Its vallies afford excellent paſturage, produce great quantities of rice, and many kinds of fruit. The iſland is watered by fine rivers, ſome of which are very large, and by an infinite number of brooks, by which means the land is rendered very moiſt, and in ſome places marſhy, and being under the equinoctial, is ſubject to frequent rains.

The air is unhealthy for ſtrangers, eſpecially near the equinoctial, and during the wet ſeaſon,

which laſts from June to October, when the weſterly winds, mixed with rain and ſudden tempeſts, blow upon the coaſt; theſe are interrupted by calms, which occaſion peſtilential fevers, that carry off ſtrangers in two or three days, or at leaſt terminate in obſtinate ſwellings and dropſies; but the city of Achen, which is ſituated on the north point, is more temperate: it ſtands upon a large river, about half a league from the ſea, in the midſt of a valley that is ſix leagues broad. The ſoil is very proper for all ſorts of grain and fruit; the inhabitants, however, ſow nothing but rice, which, with cocoas, is their principal food.

The iſland bears very large trees, that retain their verdure all the year round; the fruit-trees are very numerous; theſe bear in their proper ſeaſons, and there is not a month in the year without ſome ripe fruit. The natives have abundance of buffaloes, which are employed in manuring the ground, and in drawing or carrying. Their horſes are of a ſmall breed. They have great numbers of goats; but their ſheep are of little value. The peaſants breed up great numbers of hens and ducks, in order to ſell their eggs; they are fond of hunting, and have an infinite number of wild boars; but they are neither ſo large nor ſo furious as thoſe in France. However, their deer are larger than ours. They have few roe-bucks and hares; but at the foot of the mountains there are numbers of wild elephants, and upon thoſe that are uninhabited, there are many rhinoceroſes, wild buffaloes, tygers, wild cats, civet cats, monkeys, adders, large lizards, and in ſome rivers poiſonous crocodiles.

The beſt half of this iſland is poſſeſſed by the king of Achen, and that part of the coaſt that faces the ſtreights of Sunda is ſubject to the king of Bantam. The inhabitants of the coaſt are Malayans, but the inland parts of the iſland are inhabited by

Aborigines, who ſpeak a different language from the Malayans, and have ſeveral petty kings. The richeſt and moſt powerful of whom, is one who reſides between Ticow and Manimcabo, he poſſeſſing all the places where gold is found.

As to the produce of the ſeveral kingdoms and provinces, Andrigri produces a conſiderable quantity of pepper; but it is very ſmall. Gold is cheaper there than in any other country poſſeſſed by the Malayans; Jamby produces a great deal of much better pepper than that of Andrigri. The Engliſh and Dutch have a factory there, as well as the Portugueſe at Malacca. The kingdom of Polimban abounds in rice and cattle, and affords but little pepper. This is a pleaſant country towards the ſhore, which is in the poſſeſſion of the king of Bantam.

As for the dominions of the king of Achen, the territories belonging to his principal city are ſo badly cultivated as not to maintain the inhabitants, whence a great part of the rice comes from abroad. In former times it produced a great deal of pepper; but one of the kings obſerving that they minded nothing elſe, and neglected the manuring of the ground neceſſary for producing rice, cauſed all the pepper plants to be cut down, whence it does not annually produce above 500 bahars.

At the diſtance of ſix leagues from Achen, there is an high mountain which furniſhes a great quantity of ſulphur. This mountain, with the iſland of Puloway, in the road of Achen, in a manner ſupplies all the Indies with ſulphur for making of gun-powder. The territory of Pedir is ſo very fertile in rice, that it is called the granary of Achen. It alſo produces a large quantity of ſilk, part of which is wove by the natives into ſtuffs, that are eſteemed all over Sumatra, and the reſt ſold to the inhabitants of the coaſt of Coro-

mandel. At Dely there is a fountain of oil, which is ſaid to be inextinguiſhable when once ſet on fire. With this oil, the king of Achen burnt two Portugueſe galeons at Malacca. Daya abounds in rice and cattle. Cinquele annually produces a large quantity of camphire, which the inhabitants of Surat, on the coaſt of Coromandel, purchaſe for fifteen or ſixteen rials the cotti, or twenty-eight ounces. Paſſaman ſtands at the foot of a very high mountain, and produces excellent large pepper, and ſeven leagues from the place is Ticow, which is ſtill more fertile in this valuable drug. Priaman is well peopled, and plentifully furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions; it drives a large trade in gold with the inhabitants of Manimcabo: the Dutch had a factory there for a long time; but were at laſt expelled by the king of Achen. Padung has little pepper; but deals much in gold, and has a fine river, where large ſhips may come up and ride in ſafety. All theſe places are well peopled and cultivated, and from their diſtance from the tyrannical court of Achen, ſome of the inhabitants became rich, and live happily.

The inhabitants of Achen are more vicious than thoſe of Ticow, and other places along the coaſt. They are proud, envious, and treacherous; deſpiſe their neigbours, and think all other nations but themſelves barbarians. They are very expenſive in their clothes, and would be ſo in their houſes and ſlaves, if they were not prevented by the king. They ſpeak well in their own language, and have orators among them: theſe are very fond of ſimilies, and are happy in the uſe of them. They alſo compoſe poems and ſongs; they apply themſelves to writing, and the Arabian arithmetic, which differs but little from ours. Some of them are good mechanics, eſpecially in the building of gallies. They are very dexterous in all ſorts of iron work, though they do not work with the

ſame facility as the Europeans. They alſo work well in wood and copper, and ſome of them are ſkilled in making artillery.

Since this king's acceſſion to the throne, the ſubjects of Achen have obtained the reputation of being the beſt ſoldiers in India; for they have inured themſelves to fatigue, and are excellent pioneers, as appears from the ſieges of Queda and Dely, for though the latter was a place of great ſtrength, fortified by the aſſiſtance of the Portugueſe, and defended by a perſon of great valour and reputation, yet the king of Achen took it in ſix weeks time, by cutting trenches and making gradual advances. They live very ſoberly, and for the moſt part upon rice, to which the richer ſort add a ſmall quantity of fiſh, and a few herbs, and he muſt be a very great lord, who eats in a day's time, one fowl boiled or broiled upon the coals. It is a common ſaying among them, that if there were 2000 Chriſtians in that country, all their beef and fowls would be ſoon conſumed.

They pretend to be ſtrict Mahometans; but are great hypocrites, eſpecially in the reſpect they ſhew to the king, whom they would gladly ſee hanged. If they ſuſpect, though without reaſon, that any one has a diſlike to them, they endeavour to prevent his doing them an injury, by forming an accuſation againſt him before his majeſty, and the frequency of theſe accuſations occaſions his being ſo cruel; as they make him believe that there are more conſpiracies againſt him, than there really are. In ſhort, it is common for one brother to accuſe another, or the ſon the father, and if, upon this account, they are charged with inhumanity or want of conſcience, they reply that God is far from them, but the king of Achen is near at hand.

Agreeably to the law of Mahomet, they marry as many women as they are able to maintain, one of whom is entitled to the preference, and her children eſteemed the lawful heirs; but though they ſuffer their ſlaves and concubines to go abroad their wives are confined at home. If a man marries a young woman, he commonly pays a ſum of money for her to her relations, and allows her a jointure out of his eſtate; and if ſhe has a fortune of her own, ſhe lodges it in the hands of her huſband, and takes his notes for it, which entitles her to recover it in caſe of ſeparation; or, if the huſband dies firſt, his note, together with the jointure ſtipulated in the contract of marriage, muſt be firſt ſatisfied out of the goods of the deceaſed, even to the prejudice of all other creditors; but if the woman dies firſt, the huſband is entitled to all ſhe brought him. The huſband and wife may ſeparate whenever they pleaſe, provided it be by their mutual conſent; for the conſent of one party is not ſufficient.

Though uſury is prohibited at Achen, they are allowed to borrow at 12 per cent. per ann. without pledges. If the debtor refuſes to pay, he is cited before a court of juſtice, where, if the debt be proved, he is condemned to pay it in a ſhort time, and if it is not paid at the time limited, he is cited to appear a ſecond time, when he muſt either pay it in court, or have his hands tied behind him with a wythe, and as nobody dares untie him, he continues in that poſture, and is obliged to appear before the court whenever it ſits, till the debt is diſcharged. But if the judge perceives that he appears daily, and is unable to pay the debt, he delivers him up to the creditor, to ſerve him as a ſlave; the creditor then takes him home, ſells him, or does with him what he pleaſes, ſo he does not take away his life.

This court ſits every morning, except on Fridays, and one of the richeſt orankays preſides in it. There is alſo a criminal court, in which ſeveral of the principal orankays preſide by turns, where cognizance is taken of all quarrels, robberies, murders, &c. committed in the city. Any criminal may be ſtopped or taken up by a child of four or five years of age; for whenever hands are laid upon him, he durſt not make the leaſt oppoſition; but ſtands like a ſtatue, and ſuffers his hands to be tied, in order to be tried before the court, where the ſentence is immediately put in execution. I have ſeen tall, lazy fellows dragged in this manner by little children, and ſentenced to be laſhed with a wythe over their ſhoulders, for ſtealing to the value of a farthing; and after the execution neither the criminal nor informer dare complain. I heard a man tried for peeping through a hedge to ſee his neigbour's wife bathing herſelf, for which he was ſentenced to receive thirty laſhes upon his ſhoulders; but after the ſentence was pronounced, the criminal publicly capitulated with the executioner, and gave him twenty maes in open court, in conſideration of his being whipped with his clothes on. It is indeed very common, to bargain with the executioner for mitigating the puniſhment; for never a day paſſes, without the king's ordering a noſe, eye, ear, hand, foot, or teſticle to be cut off from ſome one or other; upon which occaſion, the executioner gets money for doing his buſineſs handſomely, and with little pain; and if the criminal does not come up to the price, and pay him upon the ſpot, he will mangle him in a moſt inhuman manner. After the criminal has thus ſuffered, whether by the king's command, or the ſentence of the judge, all the ignominy of his crime is wiped off, and if any one upbraids him with it, he may kill him with impunity.

There is another court in which the cadi or chief prieſt preſides, and takes cognizance of all the infringements of religion. There is alſo a court for determining diſputes among merchants, whether natives or foreigners. In this court an exact account is kept of all the cuſtoms, gifts, fines, and commodities belonging to the king, with a liſt of all the perſons who buy of his majeſty, pay the duty, or make him preſents. Beſides theſe, there are four officers, called Pangoulow Cavalo, who take cognizance of things done in the night-time, as not paying the duty, robberies, &c. each of which has a quarter of the city under his juriſdiction. Every orankay has a province or country diſtrict, in which he gives orders and adminiſters juſtice.

Before the reign of the preſent king's grandfather, the orankays having never been oppreſſed by their ſovereigns, nor pillaged by other nations, were very rich in lands and houſes, as well as in gold and ſilver. The city was ſix times larger than at preſent; the ſtreets were crowded with people, and no city in India had ſo flouriſhing a trade; for no cuſtoms were required, but that of the chappe, and merchants might unload and take in a freſh lading within fifteen days. The orankays then lived in large ſtately houſes with cannon at their gates, and had a great number of ſlaves, both to ſerve and guard them. They dreſſed magnificently, had pompous retinues, and were much reſpected by the people. This grandeur and authority, not only leſſened the power of the king, but was often fatal to his perſon, ſo that the ſovereign ſeldom enjoyed his crown above two years, and, if he did, he had no more than the title.

In this ſituation things continued till the extinction of the antient royal line, which happened about forty years ago, when the orankays met in order to chuſe a king; but every one endeavouring

to obtain this dignity, it was reſolved to decide the diſpute by the ſword. While they were in this ferment, the cadi by his authority and remonſtrances, perſuaded them to liſten to an expedient, that would remove all their jealouſies, which was to ſet the crown upon the head of a certain orankay, who during theſe diviſions, had endeavoured to obtain nothing for himſelf or family, which was one of the nobleſt in Achen ; but lived peaceably with the reputation of being a wiſe experienced man, he being then ſeventy years of age. The orankays accepted the propoſal, as it did not remove their reſpective pretenſions, ſince he was intitled only to a preference, on account of his age and prudence ; but after all, the old nobleman deſired to be excuſed, alleging that he had for ſome time retired from the affairs of the world, and wiſhed for nothing more than to paſs the remainder of his life in peace. Upon this the orankays fell together by the ears ; but at laſt finding that every thing ran into confuſion, they endeavoured to threaten the old orankay into an acceptance of the crown ; but both their threats and intreaties were equally ineffectual.

At laſt they all came in a body to his houſe. The cadi carrying the crown, and one of the orankays a naked ſword, when they repreſented to the old nobleman, that they could not poſſibly find any other remedy for their preſent calamity, but that of making him king : That as they had frequently importuned him to accept of the crown, they now came once more to make him the laſt offer, and if he ſtill refuſed to accept it, they were determined to cut him off immediately, to prevent their inſiſting any longer on an uſeleſs expedient. The old orankay finding himſelf in this dilemma, told them, that though he had firmly reſolved to finiſh his days without interfering in the diſturbances of public affairs, yet ſince nothing but his

Scot & Mlurdoc

The Omukaves of Acheen force an

Old Man of their Body to accept the Crown

mounting the throne could prevent a pernicious war, he would accept their offer, upon condition that they would reſpect him as a father, and he ſhould treat them as his children. They all thanked him, and having promiſed not only to honour him as their parent, but to reſpect him as their ſovereign, inſtantly inveſted him with the royal dignity.

After his coronation he took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and inviting all the orankays to a feaſt, upon an appointed day, made ſuch vaſt preparations for their entertainment, that the orankays were filled with admiration. When the feſtival arrived, the orankays were drawn up in order in a court near the king's apartment, and conducted by the chappees into a hall; but as they entered it, were immediately ſeized and dragged into another court behind the building, where the king had cauſed a deep ditch to be dug, upon the brink of which their throats were cut, and then their bodies were thrown into it. In the mean time the muſic played, and nothing but ſongs and mirth were heard in the hall. Theſe murders were carried on with ſuch ſucceſs, that 1100 were cut off before thoſe in the rear could perceive any thing of the matter, when the ſmall remainder ſlipped ſoftly out of the caſtle, without diſtinctly knowing what foundation they had for diſtruſt, till the next day, when all the principal orankays were miſſing.

The inhuman monſter having thus cut off all he ſuſpected, and ſecured himſelf in the caſtle with a good body of guards, he publiſhed a declaration, that this great execution was neceſſary for the ſafety of his own perſon and the ſtate; that as in former times the orankays had made and dethroned kings at pleaſure, and extinguiſhed the antient line, ſo when they were on the point of cutting one another's throats, they could find no other remedy but that of forcing him to be king in order to ſerve

him as they had done the reſt; but that ſince he was king, he did not chuſe to be expoſed to the inconſiſtent humours of the orankays, who after they had maſſacred him, would have relapſed into their former animoſities, and have made the people ſuffer by their quarrels. In ſhort, that his deſign was to preſerve the general peace, to reign with equity, and to execute ſevere juſtice upon all offenders.

Finding that after this declaration, no body came to pay him the uſual reſpects at the caſtle, he demoliſhed all the houſes of the orankays he had cauſed to be murdered, and lodged their cannon, arms, and effects, in the caſtle, prohibited building with ſtone, or the orankays having cannon or intrenchments, and ordered that all the houſes ſhould be but one ſtory high, and their walls be made of matts, as they are at this day. He conferred the quality of orankays upon his favourites, allowing them part of the lands which had belonged to thoſe who had been executed, and put to death all who ſhewed any diſlike to his conduct, ſo that in the firſt year of his reign 20,000 perſons were executed, and in the ſecond, ſeveral thouſands more.

This prince reduced the city almoſt to the condition it is now in. He uſed the Arabian merchants very ill; but was extremely civil to the Engliſh and Dutch, who ſettled there during his reign. He educated the preſent king, who was his daughter's ſon, and died in the year 1603, aged ninety-five, leaving two ſons, who were advanced in years; to the eldeſt of whom he left the kingdom of Achen, and all his territories along the coaſt of Sumatra to the weſtward; and to the other, the kingdom of Pedir, with the territories upon the eaſt coaſt. Theſe princes being of a meek diſpoſition, an infinite number of diſorders were committed at Achen for want of a ſevere execution of juſtice. The king

of Achen happening to give ſome ſlight rebuke to his nephew the preſent king, whom he entertained at his court, that prince fled to his uncle the king of Pedir, who gave him a very kind reception; when the king of Achen deſiring his brother to ſend back his nephew to him, he made anſwer, that he would not offer violence to a young prince, whom their father had recommended to their care. Upon this, the two brothers declared war againſt each other, when the forces of Pedir were commanded by the nephew; and in this war above 60,000 men were ſlain. But though the nephew had frequently the advantage, yet as the forces of Achen were moſt numerous, thoſe of Pedir at laſt refuſed to march, upon which their king was obliged to deliver up his nephew to the king of Achen, who immediately laid him in irons.

In the mean while the Portugueſe made a deſcent upon Achen, and carried a turf fort at the entrance of the river. At this juncture the young prince deſiring his uncle to let him fight againſt the Portugueſe he releaſed him; and the royal youth behaved with ſuch bravery in two or three battles with the Portugueſe, that he acquired great reputation. His mother, an active, ambitious woman, now formed a deſign of making him king of Achen, and furniſhed him with large ſums of money, to be diſtributed among the principal orankays. With this view, he was very familiar in his converſation: whatever he had he ſhared among his friends; refuſed nothing that was aſked of him, and, in a word, ſhewed himſelf liberal to the orankays, affable to the rich, the companion of thoſe who profeſſed arms, and extremely courteous to the common people. At this time the king of Achen died ſuddenly, when the prince got into the caſtle; made great promiſes to the officers; advanced a large ſum to the governor of the caſtle; bribed the guards; diſtributed money among the

principal orankays, and threatened the cadi, who ſcrupled to crown him. In ſhort, he managed his intrigues with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was proclaimed king that very night, to the great joy of the people, who had conceived extraordinary hopes from his liberality and courteſy, as well as his valour.

As Pedir is but twelve miles from Achen, the king of that place was ſoon informed of his brother's death, and came the next day to receive the inveſtiture of his patrimony; but on his approaching the caſtle, with a ſmall retinue, he fell into the hands of his nephew, who forgetting his former favours, kept him a month priſoner in the caſtle, and then pretending to ſend him to a more agreeable retreat at a diſtance from the city, cauſed his throat to be cut by the way. Thoſe who had ſet the crown upon his head, were not better uſed; for he began with the governor of the caſtle, who had taken moſt of his money, and ended with thoſe who had received the leaſt. The people ſoon found that he was entirely changed; for inſtead of being humane, he was extremely cruel; inſtead of his former liberality, he diſplayed an extreme avarice, and that meekneſs and affability, for which he was before diſtinguiſhed, was changed into an auſtere and inexorable temper. In ſhort, he has ſhed more blood than his grandfather did in his whole reign. He has in a manner depopulated the whole territory of Achen, and drained not only the natives, but the foreigners who reſide there, of all their money. It is true, he has endeavoured to repeople the city from his conqueſts, or more properly ravages; for having ruined the kingdoms of Jor, Dehly, Pahan, Queda and Pera, he tranſported from thence to Achen, about 22,000 perſons; but as he did not allow them a grain of rice for their ſupport, they died of hunger in the ſtreets, ſo that at preſent there are ſcarce 1500 of them left.

He has 3000 women whom he keeps partly for a guard and partly for other uſes. They ſeldom leave the caſtle; they have a market of their own, and traffick with each other for ſuch things as are their own manufacture. They are ranged under ſeveral captains; have their civil judges and night officers as well as the city; but none are allowed to enter their apartments, except the king's eunuch's, who are ſaid to be about five hundred in number. The king has alſo many wives and concubines, and twenty of his wives are the lawful daughters of the kings he has pillaged; the laſt wife he obtained by this means was the queen of Pera, who is ſaid to be very handſome; but from her he has contracted a diſeaſe, that is likely to carry him off, unleſs the vigour of his conſtitution, for he is now in his prime, be able to overcome it. By all theſe wives he has only one ſon, who is eighteen years of age. Some time ago his father gave him the kingdom of Pedir; but he behaved with ſuch cruelty and licentiouſneſs that the king called him home, and had him tormented with great ſeverity: Since which time he is always confined in the caſtle, except when he goes to the moſque, and then he has a pompous retinue.

The king places his greateſt ſtrength in his elephants, which amount to 900; they are bred to tread fire under their feet, to be unmoved at the firing of the artillery, and to ſalute his majeſty when they paſs by his apartments, by bending their knees and raiſing their trunks three times. There never was a prince in Achen who had ſuch dexterity in managing theſe animals; for he will ſtand upright upon their backs while they run full ſpeed. For my part, I had rather walk ten ſtages on foot, than ride four leagues upon an elephant. The king has alſo about 200 horſes, all of which, as well as the elephants, have rich and magnificent trappings.

The king of Achen is ſtronger by ſea than any of his neighbours: For he has about 100 large galleys, a third part of which are much bigger than thoſe of Europe; I ſaw the keel of an ordinary one that was all of one piece, and 120 feet long. They are handſomely built, but are broader and higher than they ought to be. The rigging is too weak for their bulk, and their oars are too ſhort, they being only poles with a piece of wood fixed at one end of them: They commonly mount three large pieces of cannon, ſome of which will carry a ball of forty pounds. They have beſides ſeveral falconets planted before and abaft. The largeſt galleys commonly carry ſix or eight hundred men. Theſe galleys are divided among the principal orankays, who are obliged to fit them out for ſea, to take care of them when they return, and to repair them at their own expence.

The king's wars are not very chargeable to him, for at his command all his ſubjects march at their own expence, and carry proviſions with them for three months. The king gives them arms, a regiſter of which is kept, and they are obliged to reſtore them at their return. Their wives, children, and parents, if they have any, are anſwerable for their behaviour, for if they give way before the enemy, not only they themſelves, but their innocent relations pay for it. By this means the king has brought them to be good ſoldiers, and the terror of their neighbours. If they continue above three months in the field, he is at the expence of rice for their ſupport.

From the above account it is plain, that the king cannot fail of being rich, for in war he is only at the expence of arms, powder, lead, and rice, which is very inconſiderable, and in peace he ſpends yet leſs; for as to the maintenance of his family, he has more fleſh, fowl, fiſh, rice, oil, ſugar, and herbs, paid him by his ſubjects than

are conſumed in the caſtle, and the ſurplus is ſold in the market for his advantage. Beſides, he allows his ſervants nothing but rice, and if they eat any thing elſe, they muſt purchaſe it by their own labour and induſtry. He parcels out large hereditary eſtates among his ſubjects, whom he obliges to furniſh him with a certain quantity of rice every year, whether the crop be good or bad, and calculates the produce of his land with ſuch exactneſs, that the farmers muſt not be idle if they maintain themſelves and pay him, who never bates them a ſingle grain. The rice he puts into his magazines, and keeps it till the latter end of autumn, when it fetches a double price; but if it is a plentiful year at Achen, he ſends it to ſome neighbouring country where it is ſcarce.

He has great herds of cattle kept by his ſlaves; but his elephants coſt him nothing, for he gives them only the trunks of banana trees, which being cut down, a ſprout ſprings up the next year, that bears fruit. His fighting cocks coſts him nothing, for the orankays take more care of them than of their own children. He is at no expence for his own nor his women's clothes, for on one certain day of the year, all that have any office or place at Achen, are obliged to make him a preſent of one or more garments, according to the income of their places, or elſe of ſtuffs for clothing the women, when every one ſtrives to out-do each other in the magnificence of his preſent; for if the king does not like the garment or ſtuffs, he returns them back, and the officer that gave them is ſure to be turned out of his poſt, unleſs he quickly accomodates the matter by means of a large ſum of money, or if he is a rich man, he will be charged with ſome mal-adminiſtration in his office, and perhaps put to death.

He cauſes many houſes to be built of rough ſtone, which in that country are thought inimitable,

though they fall infinitely ſhort of what we have in Europe, and thoſe houſes being built by his ſlaves coſt him little. Theſe ſlaves work four days in eight for their own ſupport; for the king pays nothing for their maintenance. They are moſtly employed in cutting wood, making of mortar, labouring in the quarries, and in building. There are three or four overſeers of their work who are maintained by the ſlaves, for thoſe who underſtand any trade are excuſed from working for the king; but they pay a duty of about five pence a day.

The king is heir to all his ſubjects, who die without male iſſue, and if they leave any daughters unmarried, he puts them into the caſtle, which occaſions his women being ſo numerous. He alſo has the eſtates of thoſe whom he every day puts to death; and to prevent their alienating their eſtates or goods, he takes them by ſurprize, and has their wives, children, ſlaves, cattle, money, and all their moveables lodged in the caſtle, before they know their ſentence. He is alſo heir to all foreigners that die within his territories; for as ſoon as a foreigner ſickens, the king's officers take poſſeſſion of his houſe, and upon his death remove his effects to the caſtle, and very often his ſervants, friends, and ſlaves, are put upon the rack to diſcover where his gold, ſilver, and jewels are depoſited. But the Engliſh and Dutch having factories here, are exempted from this law, as we were while we ſtaid here.

On the firſt of February, we weighed anchor, in order to return home, having now ſeventy-five men on board, all in good health, and proviſions for nine months. On the 22d of June, we came to an anchor at St. Helena, where many of our men being ſick, we ſent them on ſhore. This is a very convenient place of refreſhment, on account of the temperature of the air; the facility of coming at good water; the plenty of young

kids and hogs; the conveniency of fiſhing in the road and upon the ſhore; the abundance of oranges and citrons, and the ſeveral herbs that are excellent remedies againſt the ſcurvy.

On the 16th of July, we perceived the iſland of Aſcenſion in 8°. ſouth latitude, at about twelve leagues diſtance. It is very high, and being nothing but a hard rock, has neither wood, freſh water, nor any herbs upon it, yet it affords ſome hogs, and many fowls, and in the road there are turtles, and abundance of fiſh. After we had croſſed the equinoctial, we had ſuch calms and drizzling rains, that moſt of the men were ſeized with dropſies and tumours that proved very fatal.

On the 6th of Auguſt, when theſe calms and rains ſtill continued, there ſuddenly came a whirlwind that laſted for two minutes, tore all our ſails, and carried the main-top-ſail quite off. The next day we ſaw ſome ſwallows and butterflies, which let us know that we were near land. On the 13th, we ſaw an iſland to the north in 16°. latitude, which we knew to be St. Nicholas, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands. On the 16th, we made the iſland of St. Vincent, caſt anchor in five fathom water, and the next day ſent our ſick men, who were very numerous, on ſhore where they recovered apace.

The uſual anchorage of this iſland lies in 17°. 20'. north latitude. It affords at this ſeaſon of the year great plenty of large turtle, and here we met with an herb which in ſome meaſure reſembles ſpinage, but is infinitely better: we uſed it both in ſallad and ſoup; and this, as well as the fleſh of the turtle, cured our men of dropſies in eight days. It is alſo well ſtocked with young kids, which are difficult to be caught without dogs. To the eaſtward, under a high mountain, there are vaſt quantities of purſlain; but we ſaw

no fruit except wild figs, which are ſpoilt by the worms. The iſland is alſo furniſhed with a conſiderable quantity of wild pines, which is the only wood it produces. The water of the iſland is generally brackiſh; but upon the ſouth-weſt part of the bay, near the place of anchorage, there is a ſmall ſpring, which if cleanſed and dug deep, would afford pretty good water. There is very good fiſhing along the rocks, and eſpecially at a ſmall rock at the entrance of the bay, where, in two hours time, ſeven or eight men may catch fiſh enough to furniſh a meal for 200. In ſhort, it is not inferior to St. Helena, as a place of refreſhment, excepting only that its water is not ſo very good. However, it is all over acceſſable, and furniſhed with pleaſant walks. The iſland is about nine leagues in circumference, and has ſeveral fine bays; but that towards the iſland of St. Anthony, is the beſt road for ſhips that can be imagined; for we rode in five fathoms water, and an excellent ſandy ground; but though we travelled over moſt part of the iſland, we ſaw neither men nor horſes.

We left St. Vincent on the 15th of September, after which, we had ſeveral violent ſtorms. On the 12th of October, we deſcried the Azores; but it was the 17th before we could weather them. On the 19th we had a violent ſtorm from the north-weſt, that broke our mizen-maſt, and obliged us to bring our main-top-maſt upon the deck; and on the third of November, we perceived the Lizard point in England, and on the firſt of December, arrived ſafe at Havre de Grace, after a voyage of thirty-eight months.

THE

VOYAGE

OF

SIR HENRY MIDDLETON,

TO THE EAST-INDIES.

Giving an account of the various difficulties and hardſhips the ſquadron endured, which finally ended with the death of Sir Henry in the Eaſt-Indies, and the return of only one of the ſquadron to England.

THE following curious and entertaining voyage was the ſixth performed by order of the Eaſt-India company, in which were three ſhips employed, the Trade's Increaſe of 1000 tons, commanded by Sir Henry Middleton, general; the Peppercorn of 250 tons, and the Darling of 90 tons, together with the Samuel, a bark of 180 tons, which attended as a victualler.

This fleet ſailed in April, 1610, and on the 10th of May anchored in the road of Cape Verd, where they refitted their ſhips, took in freſh water, and diſmiſſed the Samuel. On the 24th of July, they entered the road of Saldanna, Sir Henry went on ſhore, and two days after tents were erected for the ſick.

Saldanna is a bay about fourteen leagues to the north-north-eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope, yielding abundance of ſheep and horned cattle, which formerly ſold for trifles, as an ox for a piece of an iron hoop of fourteen inches long, and a ſheep in

proportion; but they now found matters quite otherwiſe, yet for want of underſtanding the language of the inhabitants, they could not tell what to impute this alteration to. However, though the natives came down every day to their tents in fair weather, they could not, either by bribes or other means, procure any more for the relief of their ſick men, than four cows and ſeven ſheep, and theſe cows were ſo old and lean, that the fleſh was good for little, nor would they take iron for them; but inſiſted on having for each a thin piece of copper ſix inches ſquare, and for a ſheep a piece of three inches ſquare cut out of a kettle. Of this they made rings, ſix or eight of which they wore together on their wriſts, and being bright and ſmooth, were eſteemed great ornaments.

The ſhips having taken in water, and relieved their weak and ſick men, with ſuch refreſhments as they could procure, ſet ſail on the 13th with the wind at the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. On the 6th of September they anchored in St. Auguſtine's Bay, in the iſland of Madagaſcar, where they continued three days. In this place they met with trees full of a fat yellow ſap, to which fire being ſet, it ran blazing up, and catched the leaves and branches. As the natives, for ſome reaſon or other, forebore to come near them, they were unable to get any live cattle. They therefore weighed anchor, and on the 17th deſcried two iſlands, which from their likeneſs are called the Duas Hermanas, or the Two Siſters.

On the 25th they anchored at the iſland of Socotora, about a mile from ſhore, oppoſite to the town of Tamarin, which is ſituated at the foot of high ragged hills, when the Trade's Increaſe fired five pieces of ordnance, the Peppercorn three, and the Darling one. Sir Henry then ſent Mr. Femel on ſhore, handſomely attended, in the pinnace, covered with a crimſon tilt. This gentleman was

intruſted with a preſent for the king, conſiſting of a ſilver ten ounce cup gilt, a ſword blade, and a cloth veſt. The king received them by the water-ſide, in a tent of an orange tawny colour, where he ſat, attended by his principal ſubjects, and by a guard with ſmall arms. He thankfully received Sir Henry's preſent, ſaid that he was welcome, and expreſſed a deſire to ſee him on land, promiſing him water free, and what elſe could be ſpared from the iſland, conſidering the drought, it not having rained there for two years before; and having talked together for above an hour, his majeſty ſent a preſent of twelve goats to Sir Henry.

The next day, Sir Henry landing with the chief merchant, and a guard of armed men, was conducted to the king's palace, where his majeſty met him at his chamber door. Being entered and ſeated in a chair, there paſſed many compliments, after which Sir Henry made ſome enquiries relating to the trade of the Red Sea. The king commended it highly, ſaying the people of Aden and Mocha were good people, and would be glad to trade with him. Sir Henry then deſired to ſet up his pinnace, which the king refuſed to allow him to do in that road; for he was apprehenſive, that if they ſtaid to ſet her up in Tamarin, the merchants of other nations would be afraid to come thither.

The chief merchandize of this iſland, is ſocotrine aloes, which is made of an herb reſembling ſemper vive, or houſeleak; but they do not make above a ton a year. It alſo produces a ſmall quantity of dragons blood, ſome of which the factors bought at twelve pence a pound. The people make uſe of dates inſtead of bread, and theſe the king ſold at five rials of eight the hundred weight. Bulls and cows are ſold at twelve rials of eight a piece; goats at one rial, ſheep and fowls at half a rial; all of which are exceeding ſmall, from the barrenneſs of the iſland.

Having finiſhed their buſineſs at this iſland, they ſet ſail on the 17th of October, and in a few days arrived at Aden, where they anchored in twenty fathoms water before the town, which ſtands in a valley at the foot of a mountain, and makes a handſome appearance; it being encompaſſed with a ſtone wall, and defended by forts and bulwarks. Some time after a ſmall boat came off from the town with an Arab to view the ſhips, but he could not be perſuaded to come on board; and the next day, another boat came from the town with three Arabs, who ſaid they were ſent by the lieutenant governor, to know what nation they were off, and their buſineſs there, adding that if they were Engliſhmen they were heartily welcome; that the year before Captain Sharpey had been there, and from thence went to Mocha, where he ſold all his goods. Sir Henry then aſked one of them the name and character of the Baſſa, when he anſwered, that his name was Jaffer; that his predeceſſor was very bad, this little better, and that all the Turks in general were ſtark naught. Theſe Arabs being aſked, if Mocha was a good place for trade; they anſwered, that there was one man in the town who could buy all his merchandize. Upon this a preſent was prepared, conſiſting of a muſket engraved after the Turkiſh faſhion, and a ſword blade, which were carried by Mr. John Williams and Mr. Walter, linguiſts, with other factors to accompany them. The Turks, not permitting them to enter the town, entertained them without the gate near the water-ſide, and with a ſhew of kindneſs told them, they had much familiarity with the Engliſh at Stambol * and Aleppo; but did not mention a word of trade, though they dropped ſome hints, that they daily expected the arrival of 30,000 ſoldiers. Theſe gentlemen eaſily perceived

* Or Conſtantinople.

that thoſe ſuggeſtions proceeded from fear, and therefore let them know that their commander only deſired that they would grant him, for his money, a pilot to conduct his ſhips to Mocha, to which the principal perſon replied, that he was only deputy to the emir, who was out of town, but would return the next morning, and then ſent Sir Henry a preſent of two Barbary ſheep, and ſome plantains.

Early the next morning Sir Henry ſent again to deſire a pilot from Mocha, when his meſſengers were carried to the emir's houſe, and entertained with fair words: The emir inſiſted upon not granting them a pilot, unleſs three of the chief merchants were left as hoſtages; but hearing that the ſhips were under ſail, he ſent to deſire Sir Henry to leave one ſhip at leaſt behind, and to demand the price of ſeveral commodities; but before the meſſenger could reach Sir Henry with this requeſt, the Engliſh ſhips had turned the point, and not being able to get back again, on account of the current, caſt anchor at the mouth of a bay on the ſouth ſide of the town.

Sir Henry then perceiving ſeveral people fiſhing in the bay, and many perſons of faſhion on the hill, went towards the ſhore in his pinnace, to enquire when the current would change. At this the deputy-governor appeared angry, pretending that this was deſigned only to diſcover his ſtrength, ſo that Mr. Williams, one of the linguiſts who was ſtill on ſhore, was apprehenſive they would have detained him. However, the emir, who was lately come to town, appeared leſs rigorous, ſpoke mildly, and granted a pilot for Mocha, deſiring that one of the ſhips might ſtay to purchaſe the commodities of the country, obſerving, that the town had loſt its trade, by the ill uſuage ſtrangers formerly met with from the governors, which he endeavoured to reſtore, and propoſed to make a

beginning with them; adding, that in caſe all the ſhips ſhould depart without trading at the town, he ſhould be blamed by the baſſa, his ſuperior, who would impute it to his ill uſuage of them.

Sir Henry was willing to comply with this requeſt, and the next morning ſent Mr. Williams again to the governor for the pilot he had promiſed the night before; but he was anſwered, that the pilot's wife would not let him go, unleſs four of the principal men in the ſhips were left as hoſtages for his return. Sir Henry, though highly diſpleaſed with this inconſiſtent conduct, reſolved, according to his promiſe, to leave the Peppercorn, but though the captain had before been allowed to land above one fourth part of the goods at a time, he was now directed to carry none at all on ſhore, for ſince the natives would not truſt them with ſo mean a perſon as a pilot, but on ſuch diſgraceful terms, it was reſolved not to truſt them with their goods, but in caſe any of them were really wanted, they ſhould buy and pay for them on board; but if their merchants were afraid of venturing, they ſhould exchange hoſtages of equal number and quality, and if they did not like this, the ſhip ſhould immediately follow the reſt to Mocha.

At noon the Trade's Increaſe and the Darling departed, and the next day the Peppercorn endeavoured to get in, warping againſt the wind and current. The emir of Aden now ſent the boat and meſſenger on board, ſignifying his deſire to ſpeak to the merchants, to know whether they intended to trade with the town or not. Upon which Mr. Fowler, Mr. Williams, and the purſer, landed, and informed the emir in what manner they were to trade, which he not liking, and being afraid that the ſhip would depart as ſoon as they returned on board, thought proper to detain them, and ſhutting them up in priſon, pretended

that he ſtopped them for anchorage and other duties, amounting to 1500 ventianoes* of gold at one rial and a half each.

Before this town the captain remained till the 16th of December, in continual fear of the ſtorms which are very common during this monſoon, and while he lay there he commonly ſent his pinnace every two or three days on ſhore, with one or two men beſides the cockſwain's gang, to know how the factors did. Theſe were always received very courteouſly; the ſoldiers particularly frequented their company, treated them with drink, and if any Jew or Banian, charged too much in the price of any thing, they were very ready to do them juſtice. When any number of ſoldiers or others came into the town, they were told that theſe were merchants who came to ſee if they had landed any of their goods. The factors alſo were for the moſt part kindly uſed, and many of the inhabitants went to ſee them; but theſe were only ſuch as the governor appointed to carry on his intrigue, and he at the ſame time took care not to permit even an Arab fiſherman to go on board, leſt he ſhould give the captain a true account of his deſigns.

Captain Dounton was informed by thoſe he ſent in the pinnace, that the city had been formerly great and populous, but that all the houſes in every part of the town were gone to ruin: that there were no ſhops with goods of any value, nor any who deſerved the name of merchants; and that money was ſo ſcarce among them, that whenever the Engliſh offered a piece of eight to be exchanged for aſpers, they handed it about from one to the other, and gazed at it, as if it were a ſtrange and uncommon ſight. The governor, however, made uſe of all his art to engage them to land their goods; for as the time of his government was almoſt expired,

* That is about 1 dol. 50 cents. each venetiano.

he longed to appropriate them to his own uſe; but Capt. Dounton ſaw through his deſigns, and behaved with great precaution.

On the 1ſt of December, the governor riding out of town, the three Engliſh gentlemen in priſon were uſed with greater ſeverity than before, and were obliged to pay as much for having proviſions brought them as they coſt. They were then told that the emir was gone, and that a new one was to come in his ſtead; but three days after he returned, and about midnight went to the priſon, treated them kindly, and had a ſupper provided for them at his own expence; when he promiſed that as ſoon as the trade begun, they ſhould be ſet at liberty, without paying the 1500 venetianoes, formerly demanded. That the cuſtom ſhould be no more than five in the hundred, and ready gold paid down for the goods that were bought.

Some time after the boatſwain informed the captain, that he was in great want of ſmall cordage, and deſired that he and others might go on ſhore, to make ſome on the ſtrand by the town-wall. Capt. Dounton upon this, immediately ſent to deſire the governor's permiſſion, which was readily granted, and the men allowed the moſt convenient place they could find, with a houſe at night to lay up their tools in. This was what the governor wanted; for the men were no ſooner on ſhore, than he employed ſmiths to make ſhackles for them, and though ſome of them were informed of it by ſigns, they took it only for a jeſt. However, a few days after they were all bound, ſhackled, and pinioned; ſome of them put in the ſtocks, and all of them tortured and ſtripped. The pinnace was loſt; its gang being among the rope-makers, they were all taken, and twenty perſons in all deprived of their liberty, among whom were ſeveral officers, and two merchants, who had no buſineſs on ſhore. Some days after Capt. Dounton finding they did

not return, ſet ſail for Mocha through the ſtreights of Babelmandel, the entrance of the Red-Sea.

To return to Sir Henry, who on his leaving Aden proceeded to the weſtward, and on the 14th of November in the morning, ſaw the headland going into the Red-Sea riſing like an iſland thirty leagues from Aden. Having paſſed the ſtreights of Babelmandel, Sir Henry ſent his pinnace for a pilot to a village in a ſandy bay, which returned with two Arabs, and about four o'clock they deſcried the town of Mocha; but endeavouring to get in, the wind being high, they ſplit their main-top-ſail, and hoiſting their mizen, it alſo ſplit; but what was ſtill worſe, the pretended pilots brought the Trade's Increaſe aground upon a bank of ſand, and as the wind blew hard, and the ſea ran pretty high, they were all in fear of her being loſt.

That night a boat came on board from the town, with a very handſome Turk, ſent by the governor, to know what they were, and their buſineſs. Sir Henry told him they were Engliſh merchants who came to trade; to which he replied, that if they were Engliſhmen, they were heartily welcome. He then haſted back to inform the aga who they were, promiſing to return the next morning with boats to lighten the ſhip, which had run aground. He was called lord of the ſea, his office being to ſearch ſhips, to prevent frauds in the cuſtoms, and to ſee that lighters are ſent on board to unlade them. On the 14th, he returned early in the morning, with three or four other Turks, two of whom ſpoke Italian, bringing Sir Henry a ſmall preſent from the aga, with compliments of welcome, and offers of any thing the country afforded; ſaying, he ſhould have as free a trade as at Conſtantinople, Aleppo, or any part of the Turkiſh dominions. There came with him four or five lighters, in which the Engliſh

put every thing that firſt came to hand to lighten the ſhip, and Mr. Femel ſpeedily carried every thing he had on ſhore, before Sir Henry knew any thing of it; leaving nothing of his own in the ſhip that he thought worth regarding. However, all the money, elephants teeth, and ſhot, were ſent on board the Darling.

The next day Sir Henry had a letter from Mr. Femel, to inform him that he was kindly received by the aga, with whom he had agreed to pay 5l. the hundred cuſtom for all they ſhould ſell, and that what could not be ſold, ſhould be returned on board cuſtom free. He alſo the ſame day received a very obliging letter from the aga, to aſſure him, that whatever the country afforded was at his ſervice, and the ſame day they happily got the ſhip afloat again.

On the 19th, two boats came from Mr. Femel for iron, which Sir Henry ſent, but wrote word that he would ſend no more goods till thoſe already landed were ſold. Mr. Femel in anſwer wrote, that if he intended to trade, he muſt come on ſhore according to the cuſtom of the place, otherwiſe the people would not be perſuaded but that they were pirates. The aga alſo ſent the interpreter to tell him, that if he was a friend to the grand Turk, and a merchant who expected to trade, he intreated him to land, alleging that Capt. Sharpey, who had been there before, and all the Indian captains conſtantly did ſo. Sir Henry was prevailed upon by theſe arguments, and landed the next day, when he was received at the waterſide by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, and being attended by a band of muſic, was conducted to the aga's houſe, where all the principal men were aſſembled. He was there ſeated cloſe to the aga, while all the reſt were ſtanding, and was loaded with compliments and welcomes. Sir Henry then delivered the king's letter with a preſent to the

baſſa, which he deſired might be ſent as ſoon as poſſible. He alſo made the aga a preſent, which he kindly received, aſſuring him, that he ſhould not have the leaſt moleſtation in his trade, and that if any of the inhabitants behaved ill to him or his people, he would ſee them ſeverely puniſhed. Then ſaying it was cuſtomary for the captains of all ſhips who came there to trade, to receive the grand ſeignior's veſt, as a teſtimony of his being under his protection, one of the principal perſons helped him on with a veſt of crimſon ſilk and ſilver; and on his taking leave, a very fine horſe richly capariſoned was brought him, which having mounted, he was conducted with muſic before him to a houſe appointed for his reception, where he dined, and prepared ſoon after to go on board. However, the aga being very importunate with him to reſide on ſhore, he conſented, in order to ſee his pinnace rebuilt.

There paſſed not a day in which the aga did not ſend Sir Henry ſome ſmall preſent or other, and on the 28th he ſent twice to deſire him to be cheerful, and to acquaint him, that as ſoon as their time of faſting was over, he would have him ride with him to his gardens, and other places of pleaſure. The ſame afternoon Mr. Pemberton going on ſhore for cocoa nuts, Sir Henry made him ſtay to ſupper, after which, the Turks would not permit him to go on board, ſaying, it was too late; but in the morning he might go as early as he pleaſed. Sir Henry, ſuſpected no harm, and ſuppoſing the officer had preſumed to act thus without orders, he intended to complain of him the next day.

At ſun-ſet Sir Henry ordered ſtools to be placed at the door, where he ſat with Mr. Femel and Mr. Pemberton to enjoy the freſh air. At about eight o'clock, a janizary came from the aga to let him know that he ſent his ſervice, and deſired him to

be merry. Juſt at this inſtant, the interpreter was interrupted by Sir Henry's man running to him in a fright, and telling him, they were all betrayed; for the Turks and his people were fighting at the back of the houſe. They all inſtantly aroſe; the Engliſh in the houſe ran out, and Sir Henry himſelf running after the reſt, called after them to return back, and ſecure themſelves in the houſe, but while he was ſpeaking, he was knocked down by one who came behind him, and remained as if dead, till the extreme pain he felt in having his hands violently tied behind him, brought him to his ſenſes.

As ſoon as he was perceived to ſtir, he was lifted up, and two Turks led him between them to the aga's, where he found ſeveral of his company in the ſame condition. By the way, the ſoldiers robbed him of his money, and three gold rings, one of which was his ſeal, and another had ſeven diamonds of value. Thoſe who had eſcaped with life, were now put in irons, and Sir Henry with ſeven more were yoked together by the necks, in one chain: ſome of them were handcuffed, and others had fetters. Two ſoldiers who were left to guard them, having more humanity than the reſt, took compaſſion on them, and made their bands more eaſy; for moſt of them had their hands tied ſo tight behind them, as filled them with inexpreſſible pain, the blood being ready to burſt out at the ends of their fingers. Sir Henry amazed at this treatment, now inquired into the affair; and was informed, that the houſe had been ſurrounded with armed ſoldiers, who, juſt before he was knocked down, baſely fell upon the Engliſh, who were unarmed and defenceleſs, killed eight of them, and wounded fourteen others.

The Turks having thus ſecured their perſons, villainouſly attempted to ſeize the ſhips and goods. At about ten o'clock 150 ſoldiers were ſent in

three large boats to take the Darling, which rode near the ſhore, and in order that they might paſs for Chriſtians, took off their turbans, and boarding her all together, entered moſt of their men, and did this ſo ſuddenly, that three of the Darling's crew were inſtantly ſlain; but by a happy miſtake, the commander of theſe Turks giving ſome orders to the ſoldiers, which they miſunderſtood, many of them leaped into the boats, and cutting the ropes drove away.

By this time the Darling's men had got their weapons, and the Turks ſtanding very thick in the waſte, ſhouting and claſhing their ſwords, one of the company threw a large barrel of powder amongſt them, and after it a firebrand, which ſetting fire to it, many of them were much burned, and the reſt driven to the half-deck and the poop, where they thought they ſhould be more ſafe. There they ſtood the diſcharge of the muſket-ſhot, and another barrel of gunpowder, which ſo terrified them, that ſome leaped into the ſea, and others hung by the ſide of the ſhip, imploring mercy; but the ſailors killed all they could find, and the reſt were drowned, only one man eſcaped, who hiding himſelf till their rage was over, was pardoned.

The boats returning to the ſhore, brought news that the ſhip was taken, for which there were great rejoicings; and the governor having ſent off boats again to bring her up to the town, diſpatched the interpreter to let Sir Henry know, that the ſmall ſhip was taken. But when the boats came to the place where the Darling uſed to ride, they found her ſtanding off under ſail, and therefore immediately returned and told the aga, that the ſhip had eſcaped, and they believed the lord of the ſea, and his ſoldiers were all taken priſoners.

The aga being vexed and diſappointed at this news, ſent for Sir Henry before it was day; who

was brought to him with his ſeven yoke fellows. The villain, with a frowning look, now aſked him, how he durſt come into a port ſo near the holy city of Mecca? Sir Henry anſwered, that he knew the cauſe of his coming, and that he did not land till after many earneſt entreaties, and promiſes of kind uſuage. The aga inſiſted that it was not lawful for any Chriſtian to come ſo near their holy city, of which this port was the door, and that the baſſa had ſtrict orders from the grand Turk, to make ſlaves of all the Chriſtians who ſhould enter thoſe ſeas, even though they had his own paſs. Sir Henry replied, that the fault was his, for not telling him ſo at firſt, and deluding him with fair promiſes.

To add to Sir Henry's diſtreſs, the aga gave him a letter from Capt. Dounton, to let him know of the treatment his men had met with at Aden. When he had read it, this cruel Turk aſked the contents, which being told him, he rejoined, that ſince the writing of it the ſhip had left Aden, and in her way to Mocha ſtruck on a rock, and ſunk with all the men and goods. The aga afterwards ordered him to write on board, to know how many Turks were in the ſmall ſhip, and Sir Henry objecting that this would be needleſs, ſince ſhe was in his own poſſeſſion, he had the pleaſure to hear the aga ſay, that though ſhe had been in the poſſeſſion of the Turks, ſhe had been reſcued by the great ſhip. The aga then preſſed him to write to the people on board the great ſhip, to perſuade them to deliver her up into his hands, upon which condition he would let him have the ſmall veſſel to carry him and his men home. But this Sir Henry abſolutely refuſed, and though he threatened him if he continued obſtinate to take off his head, he bravely continued inflexible. This unhappy commander was then taken out of his chain and collar, in order to be ſeparated from the reſt; a great pair

of fetters were clapped upon his legs, and manacles faſtened upon his wriſts, and in this condition he was lodged in a dirty dog-kennel, under a pair of ſtairs. However, at the intreaty of the conſul of the Banians, he was taken out at night, and placed in a room with one of his ſailors. But he had no other bed than the ground, and his only pillow was a ſtone. The room was alſo ſo peſtered with rats, that if he chanced to fall aſleep, he was ſoon awaked by their running over him.

About midnight came the aga's lieutenant, with a druggerman, or interpreter, and now intreated Sir Henry in very ſoothing terms, to write on board, to know how many Turks were priſoners, and what were their names; but by no means to mention what had happened to him and his men, but to ſay, that they were detained in the aga's houſe till farther orders came from the baſſa, and that they wanted for nothing. He accordingly wrote to that purpoſe, and at the ſame time adviſed them to look well to their ſhips, and not to ſuffer any of their men to venture on ſhore. This letter was afterwards ſhewn to two or three of the other priſoners, to ſee whether Sir Henry had written according to his inſtructions. The purport of the anſwer was, that all the Turks were ſlain or drowned, except one common ſoldier, named Ruſwan, and that they were glad to hear their commander was alive, for Ruſwan had told them, that he thought all the Engliſh were ſlain.

In this miſery Sir Henry and the reſt continued till the 15th of December, without hearing from the ſhips. The aga came frequently to him, and ſometimes by threats, and at others by fair means, urged him to write for thoſe on board to come on ſhore, and ſurrender up their ſhips, but he ſtill continued inflexible.

Thoſe on board fared but ill themſelves: for though they were at liberty, they rode in a wide

open road, the wind continually blowing hard from the ſouthward: their water alſo began to fail; for they had ſtaved fifty tons to lighten the ſhip at her running a-ground: beſides, their hearing nothing from land, gave them great uneaſineſs and perplexity. At length an honeſt fellow, named John Chambers, offered to go on ſhore to ſee what was become of the reſt, chuſing rather to hazard his liberty, and even his life, than to live with his companions in ſuch perplexity. He was ſent with a flag of truce, and ſet upon a ſmall iſland a little to windward of the town, having an Indian with him for his interpreter. They were brought before the aga, who aſked Chambers how he durſt be ſo bold as to come on ſhore without leave, to which he anſwered, that he was a meſſenger and came with a flag of truce, which was permitted among enemies. The aga aſked what meſſage he had to deliver. He replied, a letter to Sir Henry, and that he ſhould be glad if he would give him leave to ſee how his countrymen did. The aga then aſking him ſeveral queſtions, ordered him and the Indian to be conducted to Sir Henry's dark cell, when he delivered the letter, with tears in his eyes, at finding his commander in ſuch a diſmal place, and loaded with irons. Though Sir Henry could not believe that they would allow him to return, he next day delivered him a letter, and contrary to his expectations, the Turks ſuffered this brave fellow and the Indian to return to the boat, with leave to come again the day following, if they had occaſion. Chambers however returned alone, for the Indian was ſo frightened, that he durſt not venture a ſecond time: Sir Henry's ſervant ſent ſeveral things by him to his maſter, which the aga received, and kept for his own uſe: thus honeſt Chambers having done all in his power, returned on board, and left to their fate, the general and the Engliſh on ſhore.

Sir Henry and the other priſoners expected every hour to receive ſentence of death, ſlavery, or perpetual impriſonment. But when they leaſt expected it, they met with ſome relief, for on the 18th of December an aga came from Zenan or Sanaa, with orders to bring up the Engliſh, and the reſt of the priſoners; who being brought into the room, Rejib Aga the governor of Mocha, aſked Sir Henry how he durſt be ſo bold as to come into that country, ſo near their holy city, without a paſs from the grand ſignior, to which he anſwered, that the king his maſter was in league and amity with the grand ſignior, and that in the articles of peace between them, free trade was allowed the Engliſh throughout his dominions, of which Mocha being a part, they needed no paſs. The aga replied, that it was the door of the holy city; and therefore it was unlawful for any Chriſtian to enter it. He then aſked, whether he did not know that the grand ſignior's ſword was long? To which Sir Henry boldly anſwered, that they were not taken by the ſword, but by treachery, and, that if he and his people were on board, he ſhould not care for the length of his, or all their ſwords.

Iſmael Aga, the meſſenger from the baſſa, now broke off this diſcourſe, by telling Sir Henry, that he was come from the baſſa with an expreſs order to conduct him and all his people to Zenan, adviſing him to ſend on board for warm clothes, ſince he would find it very cold on the mountains. Sir Henry then intreated, that his poor men might be ſuffered to go on board, and that only himſelf and a few others might be ſent; but Iſmael ſaid, it was out of his power to grant this requeſt, the baſſa having given order that all ſhould attend him. However, Rejib Aga ſaid, he ſhould in part have his deſire; for the reſt ſhould remain where they were, till farther orders.

On the 20th Captain Dounton in the Peppercorn came into the road from Aden, and the next day ſent a letter by honeſt Chambers, to acquaint Sir Henry with the misfortunes that had happened at Aden; and in return the latter gave him a brief account of his own; adviſed him by all means to return to Aden, till he heard what was become of him; adding, that he had ſent the Darling towards Aden, to give him notice of his being betrayed, and prevent his coming to Mocha, and that he and ſix more were the next day to ſet out towards Zenan.

On the 22d of December, the irons were knocked off the legs of all the Engliſh, except ſome who were ſick, and the carpenters and ſmiths who ſtaid to rebuild the pinnace, and Sir Henry with thirty-four perſons more ſet out for Zenan, the reſidence of the baſſa: the whole company being mounted upon aſſes, except Sir Henry and Mr. Femel, who were allowed to ride on horſeback; but about ten at night, when they were near twelve miles from Mocha, Mr. Pemberton ſlipped away from them, and though the company miſſed him, they took no notice of it. About one in the morning they arrived at a town called Mocoſſi, when they were counted over without his being miſſed by their guard.

Mr. Pemberton was moved to this deſperate attempt, by ſeeing ſuch a number of them carried up together, manacled and conducted by a captain and a guard of ſoldiers, whence he concluded that nothing elſe could enſue but death or captivity, and this, indeed, was the opinion of them all. Sir Henry however met with ſeveral friends: one Hamed Aga ſent ſeveral preſents, adviſed him not to be dejected, becauſe his cauſe was good; he alſo gave him and his people bread for their journey, and letters to the kiahya. The conſul of the Banians viſited Sir Henry every day, and

never came empty handed: one Tookehar was alſo their great friend all the time they were priſoners, and never failed to ſend each man, though they were fifty-one in number, two cakes of white bread, and a quantity of dates or plantains, every day. This worthy perſon ſet out from Mocha for Zenan two days before them, promiſing at his departure to do them all the ſervice in his power, which he afterwards actually performed.

On Chriſtmas-day they arrived at Tayez, which is four days journey from Mocha, and marched into that city two and two in rank, as captives taken in war do into Conſtantinople. The aga rode in triumph, as a great conqueror, being met a mile out of the town by the chief men of the city on horſeback, and the road for that ſpace was lined with multitudes of people, who ſtood gazing at them, and in this manner they entered all the cities and towns through which they paſſed; and though it was very cold all the way from thence to Zenan, they were obliged to lie upon the bare ground. Moſt of the men being thinly clothed, Sir Henry brought them fur gowns, to prevent their periſhing with the ſeverity of the weather: for every morning the ground was covered with hoar froſt.

They were fifteen days on the road, and on the 5th of January, 1611, two hours before it was light, came within two miles of Zenan, where they lay upon the ground till after the ſun aroſe, by which they were ſo benumbed with cold, that when they got up they were ſcarcely able to ſtand. When they were within about a mile of the city, they were met by the ſubaſha or ſheriff, with at leaſt 200 men with fire arms, drums, and trumpets. The ſoldiers led the way, and the Engliſh were obliged to follow one by one, at ſome diſtance from each other, to make the better ſhew; and their

gowns being taken from them, they were forced to march on foot in their thin and ragged clothes. The ſhip trumpters were placed next, and ordered by the aga to ſound, but Sir Henry who followed them, with Mr. Femel on horſeback, forbad them. The aga brought up the rear, riding in triumph with a ſpare horſe, richly caparifoned, led before him.

In this order they marched through the midſt of the city to the caſtle, the ſtreets being all the way ſo crouded, that they could ſcarcely paſs. At the firſt gate there was a large guard of ſoldiers: the ſecond gate had before it two great pieces of ordnance, ready mounted, and having paſſed it, they came into a ſpacious court, twice the length of the Royal-exchange in London. The ſoldiers at the gate diſcharged their pieces, and then placed themſelves on each ſide the way, among many others who were there when they came. As ſoon as Sir Henry entered the court, he alighted, and was placed on one ſide with his men, where they had not been long, before he and Mr. Femel were brought before the baſſa. This was the divan or council day; at the farther end of the area they went up a pair of ſtairs, and at the top, two perſons of diſtinction came and took Sir Henry by the wriſts, and holding him very hard, led him to the baſſa, who ſat alone at the upper end of a long ſpacious gallery, covered over with Turky carpets; many great men ſtanding on each ſide, while others ſtood in two ranks from the lower part of the gallery, to the upper end.

Sir Henry being come within two yards of the baſſa was ſtopped, and the latter with a frowning and angry countenance, immediately demanded to what country he belonged, and what brought him into thoſe parts. Sir Henry anſwered, that he was an Engliſh merchant, and being a friend to the grand ſignior, came to trade there. The baſſa re-

plied, that it was not lawful for any Chriſtian to ſet his foot in that country, and that he had ordered Capt. Sharpey to caution thoſe of his nation againſt coming thither. Sir Henry returned, that Capt. Sharpey was caſt away upon the coaſt of India, and that had they known as much, they ſhould never have run themſelves into their preſent trouble. That Rejib Aga was the man who had abuſed him, by telling him, thoſe of his nation were welcome in that country, and ſhould have as free a trade as in any part of Turky, and that though he had made him many other fair promiſes, yet contrary to his word, he had aſſaulted them with armed ſoldiers, murdered ſeveral of his men, and taken himſelf and the reſt priſoners. The baſſa anſwered, that as Rejib Aga was his ſlave, he had no power to make full promiſes without his leave, that what he and his people had ſuffered was by his order, agreeable to one he had received from the grand ſignior, commanding him to chaſtiſe all the Chriſtians who ſhould come into thoſe parts. Sir Henry obſerved, that they had been great ſufferers, and that if he was pleaſed to let them return to their ſhips, it would be a ſufficient warning to his nation againſt venturing thither for the future. The baſſa, however, refuſed to let him depart; but ſaid that he ſhould ſtay there and write to the Engliſh ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, and that he himſelf would write to the grand ſignior to know his pleaſure, and whether he would permit them to trade there or not.

He then diſmiſſed Sir Henry, bidding him go to the lodging prepared for him, and take four or five of his people along with him, which being done, they were conveyed to the keeper of the priſoner's houſe, and the reſt to the common jail, where they were loaded with heavy irons.

It is remarkable, that when they were firſt brought before the baſſa, one of the boys thinking

Sir Henry was led in this manner to have his head ſtruck off, and that it would ſoon be his own turn, fell into a ſwoon with the fright, and immediately falling ſick, died ſoon after.

On the 16th of January, the baſſa's kiahya or lieutenant of the kingdom, to whom he had been recommended by the Banian of Mocha, ſent for Sir Henry to breakfaſt with him, which being over, the latter gave him a particular account of the vile and treacherous manner in which he had been uſed by Rejib Aga, when the kiahya comforted him with ſaying, that he did not doubt but all would be well in a little time, and that his beſt endeavours to ſerve him ſhould not be wanting.

On the 7th, the kiahya ſent for him to his garden, where he gave an entertainment to him and Mr. Femel, and told him that he and his people ſhould ſoon be ſet at liberty, and ſent to Mocha, where he ſhould have all his wrongs redreſſed. He alſo promiſed to be his friend, and before many great perſonages, both Turks and Arabs, declared that his kindneſs was purely for God's ſake. The ſame day there came to town a Moor of Cairo, who was an old acquaintance of the baſſa's, and had lent him large ſums of money at his coming from Conſtantinople, when he was but poor. This man was the next neighbour to the Engliſh at Mocha, when they were betrayed, and had a ſhip in the road bound for India, which he much feared they would have taken, in revenge for the wrongs they had ſuffered; but contrary to his expectations they let her quietly depart, and out of gratitude he became their friend. He wrote a letter in their behalf to the baſſa, in which he blamed him greatly for treating them with ſuch ſeverity; ſaying, that by ſuch meaſures he went the way to deſtroy the trade of the country, and at his viſit to the baſſa, he enlarged upon what he had written, and ad-

viſed him to return the Engliſh all their goods, and to ſend them away contented. None in the country durſt ſpeak ſo boldly to the baſſa as he, and Sir Henry ſoon found that his letter and conduct had a very great effect. For it afterwards appeared, that the baſſa had intended to put to death all who came to Zenan, and to make ſlaves of the reſt.

On the 8th, Sir Henry ſent a petition to the baſſa to let him know, that at his leaving Mocha, he had ordered the commanders of his ſhips to forbear hoſtilities for twenty-five days, and afterwards to uſe their own diſcretion, if they did not hear from him in that time; and as it was almoſt expired, he deſired that the baſſa would either condeſcend to determine his cauſe ſpeedily, or afford him ſome comfortable news to write to them, to prevent the miſchiefs that might follow.

On the 11th, Sir Henry was ſent for by the kiahya, who told him, that all things were now ended, and that he ſhould only ſtay till the reſt of his company came up from Aden, and then ſhould be ſent back to Mocha. Thus on the 17th, nineteen more of the company arriving from Aden, they were brought before the baſſa, who aſked them the ſame queſtions he had put to Sir Henry, and afterwards three of the officers were ſent to keep him company, and the reſt conducted to thoſe in the common priſon, where they were alſo put in irons, with an allowance from the baſſa of brown bread and water; but they would all have died of cold and hunger, had it not been for the relief they received from Sir Henry.

On the 25th the kiahya ſent for Sir Henry, and had ſome hours diſcourſe with him. He let him know, that he would go with him to the garden of the baſſa, where he ſhould have an opportunity of talking with him, and adviſed him to ſooth that great man with fair words; but not to mention his

reſtoring his goods and the pinnace, till his return to Mocha, when he would ſolicit the baſſa on his behalf, and did not doubt of obtaining it. Sir Henry, however, thought it more proper to make this demand at that time, than afterwards, and the kiahya bid him uſe his own diſcretion.

The chief cauſe of the kiahya's being ſo much his friend, was Sir Henry's having promiſed him a ſum of money; but, though he would not make the demand himſelf, he had appointed the conſul of the Banians to treat with him about it, and as his demands were high, and Sir Henry was willing to part with little, they ſpent three or four days in debating on this ſubject; but at laſt he was obliged to promiſe him after his releaſe, to pay him 1500 venetianoes.

This agreement being concluded, the kiahya took horſe, and riding to the baſſa's garden, ordered the druggerman to bring Sir Henry and Mr. Femel thither, where they ſtaid at leaſt an hour at the garden door before they were admitted to the baſſa's preſence. They found him in a ſummer-houſe, ſeated in a chair with the kiahya ſtanding at his right hand, and half a dozen others at the back of the chair. Sir Henry was led by two men, who held him by the cloak till he came within two paces of the baſſa, Mr. Femel walking behind him without his leaders. The baſſa then aſked Sir Henry how he did, and bid him be of good cheer, for he and all his people ſhould have their liberty, and be ſent to Mocha, to remain there, with twenty-nine more, while the reſt ſhould be ſent on board till all the ſhips from India were come into the port, and the wind ſettled weſterly. After which they alſo ſhould be allowed to return on board, and proceed on their voyage to India.

Sir Henry intreated him not to detain ſo many of them. To which he anſwered, I have ſpoken, and thirty ſhall ſtay. He then deſired to know, if

their goods and pinnace ſhould be reſtored. The baſſa replied, no: for they were all put to the grand ſignior's account. Sir Henry told him ſeveral materials belonging to the ſhips were at Mocha, and deſired they might be reſtored, and he promiſed they ſhould. The baſſa then began to praiſe the mildneſs of his own temper, and took pains to make him ſenſible of his good fortune in falling into his hands; obſerving, that had it been in the time of any of his predeceſſors, they would all have been put to death for their preſumption in coming ſo near the holy city; and added, that what had happened, was by expreſs order from the grand ſignior.

On the 1ſt of February the kiahya ſent for Sir Henry and Mr. Femel, adviſing them to wait on the baſſa, with the compliment of, God give him joy of his late received dignity; for the grand ſignior had made him a vizir, and ſent him a ſword and rich robes, as the marks of his inveſtiture. Theſe preſents had been received two days before with great ſolemnity. The party who brought them being met by the baſſa and the chief perſons of the city, with a body of horſe and foot, ſix miles without the town; where a tent being ſet up, the baſſa put off the robes he had on before, veſted himſelf in thoſe ſent him by his maſter, and now returned in great pomp, riding through the city to his own houſe. Sir Henry and his company had a place appointed them, where they ſaw him make his entry, from whence they were conducted by their druggerman to the vizir's palace, and did not wait long before they were admitted to his preſence; when Sir Henry told him that he only came to congratulate him on his newly received honour, and to pray God to give him joy of it. The vizir thanked him, and bid him be merry, for what he had promiſed he would punctually perform, and be even better than his word; and he

took their viſit on this occaſion ſo kindly, that Sir Henry and Mr. Femel were permitted to kiſs his hand.

Mean while many of the Engliſh falling ſick through grief, cold, bad air, diet, and lodging, Sir Henry never ceaſed ſoliciting the kiahya, till he had procured their diſcharge out of their loathſome priſon; ſo that on the 11th they were all ſet free, and were allowed a houſe in the town, with liberty to walk abroad and take the air, and the next day that officer ſent him ſix horned cattle for his men, by which means they ſoon recovered their health and ſtrength.

Early on the 17th, the kiahya ſent for Sir Henry, Mr. Femel, and others, and told them, that the next morning they ſhould depart for Mocha. After they had breakfaſted, he went with them to take leave of the baſſa, who again began to extol his own clemency, and the power of the grand ſignior. At this Sir Henry intreated him to let Rejib Aga know the conceſſions he had made in his favour, leſt he who was their mortal enemy, ſhould continue to uſe them ill. But he anſwered with great haughtineſs, "Is not my word alone ſufficient to "turn a whole city upſide down? If Rejib Aga "wrongs you, I will pull his ſkin over his ears, "and give you his head. Is he not my ſlave?" This ſaid, he ordered the kiahya to write Sir Henry's diſpatches.

Sir Henry on his leaving the baſſa, deſired the kiahya to permit him to buy a ſword, that he might not ride down as he came up, like a priſoner; which being told to the baſſa, he ſent him one of his own old ſwords. That morning Sir Henry gave the kiahya 100 pieces of gold of forty madins each, though he had received fifty from him not many days before.

Sir Henry having afterwards paid all the priſon dues, went to the kiahay's garden, where he

breakfaſted, and received his diſpatches, with a letter to the governor of Aden, ordering him to reſtore the Peppercorn's boat; and a letter to the governor of Tayez, commanding him to deliver a boy belonging to Mr. Pemberton, who had been left there ſick, and compelled to turn Mahometan.

Zenan is ſomewhat bigger than Briſtol. It is a walled city, and has a fort and caſtle on the eaſt ſide, where the baſſa reſides. The houſes are of ſtone. They have none but well-water, and as they are obliged to fetch the wood from a conderable diſtance, it is very dear. The keeper of the priſon's houſe where Sir Henry was confined, was contiguous to the wall, at the foot of which was a ſpacious yard, wherein a great number of people, for the moſt part women and children, were detained priſoners, or as hoſtages to keep their parents, huſbands, and relations from rebellion. The women and children live in ſmall cottages in the yard; the latter moſtly run about naked, unleſs the weather is very cold, and then they have ſheep-ſkin coats. They are rude and wild, as if they were brought up in the mountains; but the boys no ſooner grow tall, than they are clapped in irons, and carried to a ſtrong tower, where they continue during the baſſa's pleaſure.

Sir Henry, Mr. Femel, and Mr. Fowler, ſet out from Zenan, mounted on horſes, and the reſt upon aſſes or camels, with two Chiauſes to conduct them, one on horſeback, and the other on foot. As they ſtaid two days at Tayez, Sir Henry endeavoured, during that time, to recover Mr. Pemberton's youth; and Walter Talbot, one of the Engliſh, being permitted to ſee him in a chamber, where he was with other lads, he cried, and ſaid he was no Mahometan in his heart, and that they had impoſed upon him, by telling him that Sir Henry and all the reſt were put to death at

Zenan, and that if he would turn, they would ſave his life; but he refuſing to comply, ſome of the aga's ſervants carried him to a hot bath, and when they had him naked circumciſed him by force. Sir Henry finding that his own application to recover this injured youth was of no effect, delivered the kiahya's letter to the aga, who when he had read it told him the purport, which was, that in caſe he had not changed his religion, the aga ſhould deliver him up: and added, that the letter was a ſufficient warrant for detaining him. Sir Henry ſuſpected the letter was to this effect when it was given him, which made him not deliver it till he had tried what he could do without it.

The governor of Eufras, who was a Turk, had uſed Sir Henry and his people very kindly at their going to Zenan, and now hearing that he was upon his return, ſent a perſon to a place ſix miles from the town, where two roads met, in order to bring him thither, and there entertained him as generouſly as he had done before.

They were ſixteen days on the road, which was full of people, and when they were within a mile of Mocha, were met by the carpenters, ſmiths, and the reſt who had been detained there, whoſe irons had been taken off the day before, when they were allowed the liberty of walking abroad, and Sir Henry aſking what was become of Mr. Pemberton, he had the pleaſure of hearing that he had met with a canoe and got on board. All the way through the town to the aga's houſe the people ſtood very thick, and as the Engliſh paſſed, welcomed them back; for the Arabs were much diſpleaſed at their being treated ſo treacherouſly by the Turks.

Sir Henry Middleton, Mr. Femel, and Mr. Fowler, alighted at the aga's houſe, and, being brought before him, they firſt delivered his letters

from Zenan. Rejib received him with his uſual diſſimulation, welcomed him to Mocha, pretended to be glad of his ſafe return, and to be ſorry and aſhamed of what was paſſed, deſiring Sir Henry to pardon him, and aſſuring him that henceforward he would be his friend; and reading the baſſa's orders, ſaid, that every thing ſhould be performed as he had directed. Then calling for breakfaſt, he bid Sir Henry eat and be merry, and afterwards told him, that now he had eaten bread and ſalt with him, he need not fear any harm. When breakfaſt was over, he went to look for a houſe for them, and pitched on an handſome large one near the ſea-ſide; but afterwards conſidering that it ſtood too near the water, and might favour their eſcape, they were two days after removed to a large ſtrong houſe which ſtood alone in a ſpacious encloſure in the midſt of the town, where a captain and his company were ſent to guard them.

Mocha is a very populous city, but unwalled, and ſeated by the ſea-ſide, in a ſalt, ſandy, and barren ſoil. The governor's houſe was by the water-ſide, and near it was the quay, which ſhoots pretty far into the ſea. Upon this quay all the ſhips boats are obliged to land to prevent the running of goods, and cloſe to it is a platform, upon which are planted about a dozen braſs cannon. At the weſtern end of the town is another, that has the like number of ordnance.

On the 6th of March, Nakhada Malek Amber, the commander of a large ſhip of Dabul, landed with a great number of merchants, who were all carried about the town in pomp, and afterwards feaſted by the aga. Sir Henry was alſo invited to this feaſt, and entertained in a very friendly manner. When the aga in the preſence of the whole company, called for the koran, kiſſed it, and voluntarily ſwore that he had no malice or ill will to Sir Henry; but wiſhed him all ſucceſs, pro-

teſting that he would do any thing in his power to ſerve him, and was much grieved for what had paſſed. Sir Henry returned him thanks, and the next day the aga making a great feaſt at his pleaſure houſe for the Dabul merchants, Sir Henry and Mr. Femel were invited to it.

Two days after the aga ſent thirty-ſix of the Engliſh on board the Darling, keeping on ſhore Sir Henry, with the merchants, carpenters, ſmiths and others, to the number of thirty, and the next day the Darling ſailed with them towards the other ſhips on the coaſt of Habaſheh, where they found an excellent ſtation, called Aſſab-road, ſecure againſt all the winds that blow in thoſe ſeas, and affording plenty of wood and water, but the latter is a little brackiſh. The people of the country are as black as the negroes of Guinea, and go naked with only a cloth about their waiſts, which reaches to their knees. They were at firſt very fearful of the Engliſh; but after being acquainted with them, and peace being ratified by mutual oaths, they came daily to the ſhips with cows, ſheep, and goats, which they ſold at reaſonable rates, firſt for money, and afterwards for coarſe calico, which Sir Henry had purchaſed on his firſt arrival at Mocha. Theſe people were extremely honeſt and friendly in their dealings. The king of the country, who reſides at a town on the coaſt, called Rahayta, about forty miles to the ſouthward near the Bab, ſent ſome of the chief men to the commanders of the ſhips with preſents, and a promiſe of any thing his country afforded; and in return they ſent other preſents, and entertained the meſſengers in a very friendly manner. The vulgar tongue of the country is not underſtood by the Arabs, but the better ſort ſpeak and write Arabic.

Some time after the Darling returning, Sir Henry ſent a letter to Mr. Pemberton; and the

Engraved by F. Shellies

Sr. Henry Middleton escapes from the Turks.

aga, attended by the principal perſons of the town, riding early in the morning to his pleaſure garden, Sir Henry reſolved to put in practice, a long concerted ſcheme he had formed for making his eſcape in a caſk. The above letter was to acquaint Mr. Pemberton with that deſign, and to deſire him immediately to ſend the boat well manned, with a bottle of aquavitæ, and another of wine, to make his keepers drunk, which was accordingly done. Before he acquainted Mr. Femel with his intentions, he made him ſwear to be ſecret, and to uſe no arguments to diſſuade him from what he had reſolved upon, and then letting him know what he had written to Mr. Pemberton, directed him to walk out with others to a particular place by the water-ſide, where he promiſed, in caſe he got ſafe to the boat, to come and take them in. Sir Henry had alſo appointed the carpenters and others, to repair to the ſouthward of the town, where a boat lay near the ſhore, charging them not to embark till they ſaw the ſhip's boat put off from the quay.

Happily the captain, who was left in town only to watch him, ſat in to drinking at a houſe where arrack was ſold, and Sir Henry having made the keepers drunk, and the captain returning to his quarters at the end of the houſe, which was parted from the Engliſh only by a wall, Sir Henry began to put his project in execution. He ordered the carpenters to take others with them, and to go by two and two, to avoid ſuſpicion; while Mr. Femel, and thoſe who were to be taken in at the other part of the town, were to go two or three in a company along the ſhore. Having given theſe directions, he was incloſed in his tub, and ſafely conveyed into the boat, when forcing out the head of the caſk, he got out of it, and bearing up to leeward point, took in eleven perſons; but Mr. Femel, and thoſe with him, being too dilatory in

ſetting out, were taken before they could reach the boat: For by this time the town was raiſed; partly by the indiſcreet running of ſome of the Engliſh, and partly by ſeeing the boat, contrary to cuſtom, bear up to leeward. Sir Henry came to an anchor, and waiting for them, brought the boat aground, which put them all in much danger: the boat was, however, ſoon got off; when Sir Henry finding the whole town in purſuit of him, and conſidering that he had a very narrow and ſhoal channel to paſs, between a ſmall ſandy iſland and the main, found that it would be folly to ſtay any longer, and therefore, ordering the men to put forward, they happily fell into the right channel, which ſoon brought them into deep water out of danger of their enemies.

Mean while the people in the Darling kept a good watch on the tops, and as ſoon as they ſaw the boat under ſail they ſlipped their anchor, and bore up to relieve them in caſe of need. Sir Henry, and thoſe who were with him, were no ſooner on board, than the boat in which were the carpenters came in ſight, and happily joined their companions in the Darling.

Sir Henry's eſcape filled the town with confuſion. The captain who had been his keeper, was almoſt diſtracted, and knew not whether he ſhould ſtay or fly for his life. The lord of the ſea was accuſed of conſenting to his eſcape, and the merchants were in the greateſt terror at the apprehenſions of loſing their ſhips and goods, while the aga himſelf, being at a loſs what anſwer to make to the baſſa, feared it would coſt him his head.

About two hours after this happy eſcape, two poor Arabs appeared in a canoe; but were ſo fearful, that they durſt not come nigh the ſhip, till being perſuaded by fair words, one of them ventured on board, and gave Sir Henry a letter from Mr. Femel; by which he was informed, that thoſe

on ſhore had been in great danger of being either ſlain or ſtripped by thoſe who apprehended them: But that ſome of the ſoldiers who wiſhed them well, ſaved them, and conducted them to the aga's, where they waited his coming home. The aga on ſeeing them at his return, looked as pale as aſhes, threatened them with death, and cauſed them alſo to be chained by the necks; but they were ſoon releaſed, at the intreaty of the merchants and others, and permitted to remain in their former houſe; but under a ſtronger guard than before: A piece of indulgence which proceeded from the aga's fear of the ſhips under Sir Henry's command; for the latter immediately ſent the aga word, that if he did not ſend him all his people, and what belonged to the ſhips, which he detained contrary to the baſſa's order, he would fire the ſhips in the road, and do his beſt to batter the town about his ears. He alſo ſent word to the merchants, that he would not ſuffer any boats to go to their ſhips, without firſt coming on board his, to let him know their buſineſs; nor allow any thing to be carried out of them without his leave. At night Sir Henry ſent the boat, well manned, to carry the news to the other ſhips, with orders to join him as ſoon as poſſible.

On the 12th, Mohammed, a merchant of Kananor, came on board with letters, pretending that the aga was ſorry for his going away in that manner, ſince he had determined within a few days to ſet him and all his people at liberty. That he would deliver the furniture belonging to the ſhips, but could not ſend his men without an order from the baſſa: That he intreated only fifteen days reſpite, and if in that time they were not all ſent on board, he deſired no favour. To this Sir Henry conſented; but inſiſted alſo on having his pinnace, and obſerved, that he would not leave the road without her.

The aga was extremely exaſperated at this laſt demand; but thought fit to ſend the Darling's cables and anchors, with the pitch, tar, and other materials belonging to the ſhips on board; and few days paſſed, without Sir Henry's having a preſent either from the aga, or ſome of the merchants.

Some days after, the Trade's Increaſe and Peppercorn entered the road; when Sir Henry going on board the former, was received with great joy. On the 25th, Mohammed came again on board, and informed Sir Henry, that the baſſa had given orders for the releaſe of his men and pinnace, promiſing to bring them the next day; but he then returned without them, with the meſſage, that the aga would neither deliver the men nor the pinnace, till Sir Henry had given a writing ſigned by himſelf and four or five more of the principal perſons on board, importing, that he would maintain peace with the aga's ſubjects and Indians, that he would not revenge what had paſſed, on theſe or any other of their ſhips, nor demand reſtitution, or ſatisfaction for the goods taken from him, which was to be confirmed by oath. Sir Henry let him know that he was ſurpriſed, at his coming every day with freſh demands; but that ſince he had not kept his word, in bringing him the pinnace and all his men, he intended to detain him and thoſe who were with him as hoſtages, till the performance of what he had promiſed; but Mohammed alleging, that if Sir Henry would give him ſuch a writing as he demanded, and ſend him on ſhore, he would bring all his people on board before night, Sir Henry cauſed a memorial to be drawn up in Engliſh, containing only a brief relation of the treacherous uſuage he had met with in that country, which was ſigned by him and five more, as witneſſes of the truth, and then ſent advice to Mr. Femel, how he ſhould interpret it. Having delivered it to Mohammed, he refuſed to ſwear to it,

ſaying, that his word ſhould be truer than a Turk's oath at any time. Mohammed then went on ſhore, leaving ſome of the better ſort of his company as hoſtages for his return, bidding him hang them, in caſe he did not bring all the Engliſh on board that night.

Mohammed, at his landing, exerted himſelf in ſuch a manner, that a little before night he returned with Mr. Femel and nine others. Femel, Williams, and Cunningham, were dreſſed in paltry veſts, and another was ſent to Sir Henry, as a preſent from the baſſa, and which Mohammed would have put on his back, deſiring him to wear it as a favour from that commander; but Sir Henry refuſed it with diſdain, telling him, that he ſcorned to wear any thing that came from ſo unconſcionable a dog, by whoſe order he had been ſo injured: upon which Mohammed left it with his ſervant, and departed, taking with him a Turk who had been ſecured by the Darling, and till then remained on board the Trade's Increaſe.

The next day he brought the pinnace, and aſked, if all he had promiſed was performed? Sir Henry anſwered, No; for he ſtill wanted a boy whom they detained at Tayez, and had forced to change his religion, who ſhould be delivered to him before he would releaſe the ſhips. On which Mohammed replied, that he would tell the aga, and return with his anſwer. That morning Sir Henry called a council, in which it was concluded, that they ſhould releaſe all the ſhips that came from India, and belonged to their friends in the city, and indemnify themſelves out of a ſhip that was to arrive from Suez. The next day a writing was ſent to Sir Henry from the aga, whereby he, Mohammed, and the conſul of the Banians, bound themſelves under the forfeiture of the ſhips and goods, to deliver the boy within twelve days, provided he would releaſe the ſhips. Upon which he

gave them leave to unlade the ſhips of Diu, which belonged to the conſul, and to viſit the other ſhips at their pleaſure. That night Mr. Femel died of a calenture, or rather, as was the opinion of the ſurgeons, of poiſon given him by the Turks.

On the firſt of June, the wind was ſo hot, that it could be ſcarcely endured, and Sir Henry being unable to ſtay upon deck, he was obliged to ſhelter himſelf in his cabbin. He then wrote a letter to the baſſa in Italian, demanding reſtitution of his goods, and ſatisfaction for damages; but though an anſwer was ſent to this demand, the letter was not underſtood, for want of an interpreter. Upon which he again laid an embargo on the ſhip of Diu, and would not ſuffer any more goods to be taken out of her, till the baſſa had ſatisfied him to the value of 70,000 rials of eight, which he conſidered as a better method of recovering his loſs, than ſolely relying upon his taking the ſhip of Suez, which might eaſily be prevented by the Turks ſending advice by land.

On the 2d of June, Ali Haſkins, Sir Henry's interpreter at Zenan, came on board with compliments from the baſſa, pretending that his excellency was ſorry that he went away in ſuch a manner, for he intended to have diſmiſſed him much to his ſatisfaction, and had prepared a rich veſt, and a horſe to be ſent to him. Ali alſo brought commendations from the kiahya, who he ſaid, intreated Sir Henry not to take any violent courſe there; but to ſeek for juſtice at Conſtantinople; for if he did any thing that diſpleaſed the baſſa, it would coſt the kiahya his head, who had been the chief inſtrument in perſuading him to ſend the Engliſh back to Mocha. He added, that by the baſſa's order he had brought the Engliſh youth from Tayez, who ſhould be ſent on board the next day, on condition that the ſhip of Diu and the reſt,

were permitted to unload their goods. But Sir Henry now anſwered, that he would nor releaſe the ſhips till his goods were reſtored, not till he had fatisfaction to the value above-mentioned.

On the 3d, the aga deſired a truce for twelve days, in order to let the baſſa know Sir Henry's demands. The next day Ali Haſkins and others came on board to intreat him to draw up the particulars of his loſſes, that they might conſider of them on ſhore, which he did, and made his loſs and hindrance amount in the whole to 70,000 rials of eight. He alſo ſent to tell the aga, that ſince after his having invited him on land, with a promiſe of kind entertainment and a free trade, he like a treacherous dog, had, without cauſe, cruelly ſlain ſeveral of his people, villainouſly impriſoned him and others, and robbed them of all he could ſeize, to the value of 70,000 peſoes, beſides putting him to great expence and loſs of time; if he did not preſently make him reſtitution or ſatisfaction, he would batter the town about his ears; take all the goods of the Diu ſhip, and burn all the veſſels then in the road; for he would not depart till he was ſufficiently revenged: adding, that he could do all this without breach of promiſe, ſince the truce was expired, and they had not performed their agreement.

On the 16th the aga ſent Sir Henry a peremptory anſwer, demanding who gave him leave to come into thoſe ſeas, and adding, that ſince he came without leave, he was juſtly dealt with. That in relation to goods, and the other matters of which he complained, he had only performed the baſſa's orders: That if he was not pleaſed with what was paſſed, the beſt way was to refer it to a hearing of their betters at Conſtantinople: That if he fired at the town, he would fire againſt his ſhips; and that as for the veſſels and goods in the road, they

were none of his: But that if he damaged either the town or ſhips, it would not be pleaſing to the ſultan, who would infallibly demand ſatisfaction for any damage they ſhould do them. To this Sir Henry anſwered: That he needed no other leave to come into that ſea, than that of God and his king; and as to his landing there, the aga had not only given him leave, but much intreated him; with regard to his goods, he knew of nothing he owed the baſſa, nor had he ever done him the leaſt wrong, that might give him a pretence for ſeizing his goods by way of reparation; he therefore was reſolved to be paid for them, and righted there where he had been wronged, and not at Conſtantinople. Yet he was convinced, that neither the baſſa nor the aga durſt ſhew their faces in that city, to anſwer the ſhameful injuſtice, they falſely pretended the ſultan had commanded them to commit, and that therefore, if they found themſelves aggrieved, they might go to ſeek redreſs at the court of England.

On the 19th, the conſul and many others of the chief of the Banians, came on board to agree with Sir Henry, bringing with them Mr. Pemberton's youth, who was decently clothed by the conſul, after the Chriſtian faſhion. Some kind ſalutations having paſſed on both ſides, the conſul began with telling Sir Henry that he had always loved and favoured the Engliſh, and was ready to do him all the ſervice in his power, and that he was as much grieved at the injuries he had ſuffered from the Turks as if they had been done to his own people: but he was like to pay very dear for his love and compaſſion, unleſs he would ſhew ſome pity to him, for the baſſa had enjoined him to make Sir Henry ſatisfaction, and had ſent orders, that in caſe he did not, his throat ſhould be cut, and his goods confiſcated. And this he proteſted was not feigned, but ſtrictly truth. Sir Henry anſwered,

that they were the Turks who had robbed him, and done him ſo many injuries, and from them alone he would ſeek ſatisfaction. The ſabandar deſired him to wave theſe matters. They ſpent moſt of the day in fixing the prices of the commodities that were loſt, and at length with much difficulty, came to an agreement, that all the lead and iron ſhould be reſtored, and 18,000 rials of eight paid in money within fifteen days, as a full ſatisfaction for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained. Upon which a peace was concluded between the Engliſh and them for two years, from the port of Mocha to Kananor, on condition that the baſſa ſhould confirm it by a writing under his own hand and ſeal.

At this time a ſickneſs prevailed in the ſhips, few or none eſcaping. It began with a violent pain in the head and ſtomach, which deprived the men of ſleep, the beſt remedy for which, was vomiting and bleeding; but though few died of it, ſome whoſe diſorder was attended with a fever were long before they recovered.

On the 2d of July, Sir Henry received the laſt payment from the conſul, and cleared all reckonings with him, as well for money borrowed while he was priſoner, as for money diſburſed afterwards, when this honeſt Banian demanded the 1500 venetianos promiſed the baſſa's kiahya; but Sir Henry would not pay it though he urged his promiſe, and ſaid that he ſhould otherwiſe be forced to pay it himſelf, for having paſſed his word for it. But Sir Henry anſwered, that the kiahya had not performed his promiſe of ſetting him and his people at liberty. Sir Henry here certainly ſhewed, that he was void of all gratitude, honour and honeſty. However, towards night, the conſul and the reſt having taken their final leave, Sir Henry cauſed three guns to be diſcharged at their departure.

On the 3d, Ali and another merchant came again and bought ſome vermillion, for which Sir

Henry gave them credit. They promiſed to come to him on the other ſide of the ſea, within fourteen days, to pay the money, and to bring ſome grain, which Sir Henry had given them an order to buy at Mocha, and alſo a ratification of the peace ſigned by the baſſa.

In the afternoon the ſhips warped out of the road, and that night ſailed for Aſſab, but could not get thither till the 5th in the morning. On the 6th Sir Henry landing, cauſed all the wells to be emptied and cleanſed: for he had been often told that the Turks had prevailed on the people of Aſſab to poiſon the wells.

They were employed till the 13th in watering and buying proviſions, and on the laſt-mentioned day, the king of the country hearing of Sir Henry's eſcape from Mocha, and arrival in his country, ſent three of his chief ſervants, attended by thirty ſoldiers, with a letter and a preſent of refreſhments. This letter was to congratulate Sir Henry on his having eſcaped from his enemies, to welcome him into his dominions, and to make him an offer of ſupplying him with whatever the country afforded. Theſe meſſengers were feaſted and rewarded, and then ſent back with a preſent for the king, which conſiſted of a veſt of broad cloth, and an handſome looking-glaſs.

On the 17th, there came a telba from Mocha, in which were ſeveral perſons, who brought the proviſions Sir Henry had beſpoke, and the money due to him for the vermillion, but no writing from the baſſa, who pretended to be ſo buſy in the wars, that he had not time to write, whence it was ſuppoſed that he intended to keep no meaſures with the Engliſh.

On the 24th, the fleet ſailed out of Aſſab-road, to put in practice what Sir Henry had long before determined, which was to ply to windward, as high as the iſland of Kamaran, and to wait there

for a large ſhip richly laden, that ſails every year about this time from Suez to Mocha, by which means he propoſed to be ſufficiently revenged on the Turks for all his loſſes and diſgraces, and he was the more deſirous of meeting with her, from his underſtanding that Jaffer Baſſa and Rejib Aga had conſiderable ventures in her. They plyed to the windward till the laſt day of the month, ſailing by day and generally lying at anchor all night. In this cruize they ran many dangers for want of a pilot, and often narrowly eſcaped running aground; yet, notwithſtanding all their fatigues and hazards, the ſhip, as they found on their return, had eſcaped them in the night.

On the 9th of Auguſt in the morning they ſet ſail, and having paſſed the ſtreights on the 13th, plyed into the road of Deliſha, in the iſland of Socotra, where coming to an anchor, they found riding there a great ſhip belonging to Diu, and two ſmall veſſels of India bound for the Red Sea, and taken ſhort by the monſoons.

The monſoon being far ſpent, Sir Henry deſired the merchant of Diu to help him with his boats and people to take in ballaſt and water, which he, with the others, moſt readily granted, generouſly proffering him all the water in their ſhips. This offer Sir Henry accepted; he took all theirs, and employed his people in fetching ſome from ſhore.

Sir Henry being afterwards introduced to the king, purchaſed all his aloes, and having delivered letters to his majeſty, which he promiſed to deliver to the firſt Engliſh ſhip, he weighed on the 3d of September, and on the 26th anchored in the road of Surat, by three Indian ſhips. About a mile from them rode ſeven ſail of Portugueſe frigates, or men of war, and thirteen more were within the river of Surat.

Long before Sir Henry's arrival, the Portugueſe had intelligence of his being in the Red Sea, and

bound for this place, and theſe frigates had been ſent to hinder him from trading at Surat, or any where elſe upon that coaſt. The commander in chief of this fleet was Don Franciſco de Soto, major, ſtiled captain-major of the north. This perſon reaped great benefit, by granting paſſports to all the ſhips and frigates that traded in thoſe parts, and by confiſcating ſuch as traded without them. That night Sir Henry diſcharged the pilots he had at Surat, and ſent them with letters to ſuch of the Engliſh as they ſhould find there.

On the 29th, there came a ſmall frigate from the admiral of the armada, as they termed him, in which was one Portugueſe and his boy, who brought an anſwer from the captain-major, to a letter Sir Henry had ſent him the day before; the purport of which, after ſome compliments was, that he was glad he belonged to a king who was a friend, and that he and his would be ready to ſerve him to the beſt of their power, provided he brought a letter or order, either from the king of Spain or the viceroy, for trading in thoſe parts: That otherwiſe he was obliged to guard the port he had in charge, where the king his maſter kept a factory. Sir Henry returned anſwer by word of mouth, That he had neither a letter from the king of Spain nor the viceroy, nor had any need of it, ſince he was ſent by the king of England with letters and rich preſents to the great mogul, in order to eſtabliſh a trade begun in thoſe parts. That he came not to diſturb the Portugueſe factory there, and ſaw no reaſon why the Portugueſe ſhould attempt to obſtruct the trade of the Engliſh, ſince India was a country free to all nations, and neither the great mogul, nor his people, under vaſſalage to them. He bid the meſſenger therefore tell his captain, that he deſired the Engliſh at Surat might be ſuffered in a friendly manner to come on board his ſhip, and confer with him about their affairs,

and that he would not urge him to uſe force, for by one means or other he would ſee them. He then beſtowed a veſt of broad cloth upon the meſſenger, who promiſed to return the next day.

Sir Henry finding it impoſſible to croſs the bar without a pilot, anchored in the road, where he received letters from Nicholas Bangham at Surat, who was formerly a joiner in the Hector, by which he was informed, that the Engliſh had no factory there, and that he was ſent thither from Agra, by Capt. Hawkins, to recover ſome debts; but though he had letters from the captain, he durſt not ſend them on board, leſt they ſhould be intercepted by the Portugueſe. In anſwer to which, Sir Henry wrote to deſire him to ſend thoſe letters, with further particulars relating to the trade.

On the 3d of October, Khojah Naſſan, governor of Surat, and brother to the governor of Cambaya, ſent an Indian to Sir Henry with a preſent of refreſhments, offering to do him all the kindneſs in his power, adding, that for their part they deſired to trade with the Engliſh, but could ſee no poſſibility of doing it while the Portugueſe armada rode ſo nigh their fleet: That this nation hindered them from acting according to their inclinations, and therefore they adviſed him to go for Gago, which was a better place, and nearer Cambaya, where there were more merchants, better goods, and greater quantities of them than at Surat, and that the Armada could not hinder his landing there.

Sir Henry afterwards received another letter from Nicholas Bangham, and Capt. Hawkins's letter from Agra, relating the manner of his being taken into favour, and his being diſgraced by the great mogul; expatiating on that monarch's ſickleneſs in granting them trade, and afterwards denying it in favour of the Portugueſe. He alſo received two letters from William Finch, which

gave an account of his proceedings, and returning home over land, the inconſtancy of the king and people of the country, and the practices of the Portugueſe, adviſing the commanders of ſuch Engliſh ſhips as arrived at Surat, not to land any goods, nor to hope for trade in thoſe parts.

Though Sir Henry on his peruſing theſe letters deſpaired of carrying on any trade in that place, he reſolved to try to the uttermoſt what could be done before he left it. Being informed by the above letter that Capt. Sharpey, John Jordain, and others, were coming from Cambaya to Surat, in order to go along with him, he reſolved at leaſt to get them on board. As the Indian ſhips which rode by him had given over their voyage to the ſouthward, becauſe the proper monſoon was paſt, the bramin, or prieſt of the Banians, aſked leave to carry their ſhips into the river; but Sir Henry deſired him to tell the governor and the reſt of the owners, that their ſhips ſhould not leave their preſent ſtation, till he had the Engliſhmen at Cambaya and Surat on board; becauſe had he ſuffered them to ſail away, he would have been unable either to ſend or hear from the Engliſh on ſhore; the Portugueſe endeavouring as much as they were able to intercept both the letters and men.

On the 22d of October, the Portugueſe laid an ambuſcade to cut off a party of the Engliſh ſent on ſhore; and ſuddenly ruſhing out, ran towards them in crowds without any order, to the number of 300 men, diſcharging their fire-arms at the Engliſh, who immediately putting themſelves in a poſture of defence, returned the fire, and afterwards retired on board a frigate that waited for them, without loſs, while the enemy, ſeveral of whom were wounded, retreated behind the hills out of danger, and thence to their ſhips.

Sir Henry had been on ſhore in the frigate, to wait the coming of Capt. Sharpey; but finding that he did not come, returned on board the Peppercorn, and determined to remove with the ebb near the Trade's Increaſe. But as they were ſetting ſail, a company of men were deſcribed coming from the northward. Upon which they again caſt anchor, and Sir Henry going on ſhore, there ſoon arrived three Engliſhmen, and a day or two after Capt. Sharpey, guarded by one hundred horſemen, armed with bows and ſwords, with one Jaddow a broker, a bramin or Banian prieſt, and another Indian, who was the captain's ſervant.

On the 25th, Sir Henry Middleton, accompanied by the Captains Sharpey and Jordain, one of the Engliſh who had before arrived, went on ſhore, where Khojah Naſſan was come to meet them. Sir Henry was carried in a palankin borne on four mens ſhoulders, and was kindly entertained by Khojah Naſſan, when a carpet being ſpread, they ſat upon it, and applied to buſineſs. At length it was in a maner concluded, that the ſhips ſhould repair to Gago, a place on the weſtern ſide of the gulph nearer to Cambaya, and that they ſhould have pilots from ſhore to carry them thither: but a ſudden ſhower of rain which is there unuſual at this time of the year, made them break up their conference; however they promiſed to meet again the next day, in order to come to a final reſolution.

On the 26th, Khojah Naſſan ſent Sir Henry a preſent of proviſions, and two pilots for his ſafe conduct to Gago, and Sir Henry going on ſhore with the pinnace, the conference was renewed; but the pilots giving it as their opinion, that the place propoſed was not convenient, it was agreed, that the Engliſh ſhould put to ſea for ſix days, in which time it was preſumed that the Portugueſe,

ſuppoſing they had left that coaſt, would alſo leave it; on which they were to return and diſpatch their buſineſs. Accordingly the ſame evening they ſailed to the ſouthward, to the Trade's Increaſe; but the wind ſhortening upon them they anchored a mile weſtward of the road. The next morning Sir Henry ſent a letter to Don Franciſco de Soto, captain-major of the armada, and the next day left the coaſt; but finding that a Portugueſe frigate kept following them for ſeveral days, he reſolved to ſtand no farther off.

Accordingly on the firſt of November they returned to the northward, and on the 6th, came to an anchor in the new diſcovered road, where Sir Henry and Captain Dounton going on ſhore with a guard of forty men, found ſome brackiſh water, with which they were obliged to be ſatisfied till better could be had. Here they bought a few goats and ſheep of the inhabitants, and the next day having filled ſome water, and bought a ſmall quantity of proviſions, they hauled the Increaſe aground. While this was doing they erected a tent for Captain Dounton; and guards were placed to ſecure them from any deſigns of the Portugueſe.

On the 9th in the morning Khojah Naſſan came from Surat, and ſoon after a market was kept on ſhore for bullocks, ſheep, goats, fowls, milk, butter, cheeſe, meal and bread; ſugar-canes, ſugar, and ſugar-candy; limes, palms, water-melons, cucumbers, onions, gourds, radiſhes, pallingenies, gindus, a fruit of the ſize of a ſmall crab, with a little round ſtone in the middle, dried ſalt fiſh, and palm wine; all which were ſold at reaſonable prices.

On the 21ſt a centinel who had been placed on the mount, ſaw over the top of a neighbouring hill the heads of ſome of the Portugueſe who lay in ambuſh, to the number of 500, and had no ſooner

given the alarm, than the enemy finding themſelves diſcovered, ran ſwiftly down with their colours, to cut off the retreat of the Engliſh to their boat; but having taſted a little of their great, as well as their ſmall ſhot, and ſeeing ſome of their company fall in the mud, they ran back with as much haſte as they had advanced, after having eight killed and wounded. Several of thoſe who fell made a ſhift to crawl away, only Antonio de Souſa, a gentleman, having received a mortal wound in the head, the Engliſh more compaſſionate than his countrymen, went and carried him on board; but he died two hours after, and was buried on ſhore.

On the 24th in the afternoon, Mikrih Khan came down with one hundred horſe, and a ſtill greater number of foot, with five elephants, and ſeveral camels. He had alſo carts and oxen for carrying his proviſions, and ſeveral leopards in carts for his diverſion in hunting. The ſhore ſoon reſembled a town of tents. He was met by Sir Henry, at whoſe landing was diſcharged a volley of 160 ſmall ſhot, and at the inſtant of ſaluting each other, the ſhips fired their great guns in order. The Darling three; the Peppercorn five, and the Trade's Increaſe nine. After this, Sir Henry delivered him the king's letter and preſent, which he received with great appearance of friendſhip, and at his invitation, boldly went on board the Trade's Increaſe, accompanied by ſixteen Indians and Moors, leaving Khojah Naſſan, Khojah Cirſan Ali, and other merchants on ſhore. Sir Henry was much pleaſed at ſeeing him put ſuch confidence in him, and began to conceive better hopes than before, all this part of the country being under his command; he therefore made the beſt entertainment for him that was poſſible, upon ſo ſhort a warning, and both he, and thoſe who were with him, eat very heartily. He promiſed to do the

Engliſh all the ſervice in his power, and to allow them any place or harbour Sir Henry ſhould name, where, if they pleaſed, they might erect a fort. He continued on board all night, and part of the next day; but ſhewed no inclination to enter upon buſineſs, his whole thoughts ſeeming to be taken up with looking out for ſuch toys as were likely to pleaſe the great mogul his maſter.

On the 25th in the morning, after he had buſied himſelf in purchaſing knives, glaſs and other trifles, Sir Henry ſhewed him all the parts of the ſhip, and returning to the cabbin, he would needs ſee all Sir Henry's cheſts and trunks opened, which he did, the latter giving him whatever he took a fancy to. After which he dined on board, and and then went to viſit the other ſhips where he behaved in the ſame manner.

On the 30th, and 31ſt, ſeveral of the merchants on board went to view ſome packs of Indian cloth, which Khojah Naſſan had brought down to barter with them, and returned with ſamples, and the prices of each. Sir Henry ſet down what he would give for thoſe he liked, and deſired they would do the ſame by his commodities; but imagining that the Engliſh would be forced to ſell their goods for what they could get, they ſet a very high value on their own, offered but little for thoſe in the ſhips, and ſoon after ſending for their ſamples of cloth, carried all the packs they had brought back to Surat. On the eighth of December, Mokrib Khan came down again, with about forty packs of goods, and Sir Henry landing with a ſtrong guard, armed with muſkets and halberts, went to him in his tent, where after friendly ſalutations and compliments, they agreed upon a price to be given for all the lead, quickſilver and vermillion, and for the goods to be taken by the Engliſh in exchange; but though theſe goods belonged to ſeveral merchants, the buſineſs was ſolely managed by Kojah

Naſſan, no man daring either to buy or ſell without his leave, by which means he raiſed the prices of their goods, and lowered thoſe of the Engliſh.

On the 9th, in the morning, the Engliſh began to land their lead, and receive ſome of the goods, when a letter from the great mogul to Mokrib Khan, put a ſtop to their proceedings. He had been extremely merry; but the moment he peruſed it, became dejected, and after ſitting for ſome time in a muſing poſture, ſuddenly roſe up, and went away without once looking at or ſpeaking to Sir Henry, who was ſeated near him; but ſending for him before he mounted his horſe he embraced him, called him his brother, and deſired that he would excuſe his ſudden departure, adding, that he would leave Khojah Naſſan to receive and deliver the goods already bargained for, and to agree for more. Soon after it appeared, that he was turned out of his government of Cambaya, and that Khojah Naſſan had loſt that of Surat a little before.

On the 10th, the new governor of Surat and Haſſan Ali went to ſee the ſhips. The factors being on ſhore to ſee the lead weighed, were deſirous of making uſe of Engliſh weights, but Khojah Naſſan inſiſted on uſing thoſe of Surat; but after ſome drafts, the Engliſh deſired to examine the beam before they proceeded any farther, and weighing by their own ſcales what had been weighed by thoſe of Surat, they found in five pigs, a difference of ten or eleven maunds, each maund being thirty-three pounds Engliſh; when Khojah Naſſan finding he could not have the lead at what weight he pleaſed, began to cavil, and at length after behaving in a very abuſive manner, cauſed all his merchandize to be taken away, declaring, he would have none of their lead or other goods. Sir Henry being on board the Trade's Increaſe with

the governor and Shah Bandar, the factors ſent to let him know, that unleſs ſome ſpeedy courſe was taken, Khojah Naſſan would go from his bargain, and return all their goods upon his hands. Upon which Sir Henry laid the affair before the governor, and Shar Bandar; and that he was under a neceſſity of detaining them, till the other did him juſtice. Upon which the governor adviſed Sir Henry to go on ſhore, and fetch the man himſelf, which he accordingly did, and having made the governor a handſome preſent, let him depart, keeping Khojah Naſſan and the Shar Bandar for pledges on board the Peppercorn. But they were afterwards exchanged for other hoſtages, and on the 24th, their buſineſs was completed, and the hoſtages releaſed.

The Engliſh, after having ſuſtained many abuſes from the governors of Surat and their inſtruments, by delays, and by withholding the natives from trading with them, were at laſt prevented from demanding the debts that were owing to them, by being ordered to quit the town, and the ſhips to leave the road. Thus were their hopes diſappointed of ſettling a factory at Surat; which was wholly owing to the artifices of the Portugueſe; for while the principal perſons there were debating whether they ſhould permit the Engliſh to leave a factory, Mockrib Khan received a letter from Dangie, a Banian at Cambaya, which let him know, that if he ſuffered the Engliſh to continue at Surat, the Portugueſe would come and burn all the towns upon the coaſt, and ſeize all the ſhips they could meet. This immediately turned the ſcales againſt the Engliſh, and it was concluded that it would be the moſt prudent courſe to have nothing farther to do with them.

On the 9th of Febuary in the morning, they warped over the bar with the Trade's Increaſe, and on the 16th anchored in the road of Dabul. The next day Sir Henry ſent a pilot on ſhore, with a

letter to the governor from Maleck Amber, captain of a great ſhip at Mocha, to entreat him to uſe the Engliſh kindly, and in the afternoon received a ſmall preſent of refreſhments, with many compliments, offering him any thing the country afforded, and promiſed to deal with him, if he pleaſed to ſend on ſhore. Upon this Sir Henry ſent a couple of merchants, with a preſent to the governor, who gave them a kind reception, and ſeveral days were ſpent in diſpoſing of their goods. This trade was carried on till the 23d, when Sir Henry determined to depart without delay.

On the 24th Sir Henry called a council, in which it was reſolved to return to the Red-Sea, in order to put off the Engliſh goods, and get others in their room, and to take ſome revenge for the injuries done them by the Turks at Mocha, and laſtly to ſave the Engliſh ſhips, which they heard were bound that way, judging that otherwiſe he could not poſſibly eſcape being betrayed.

From this day till the 27th, was ſpent in taking in freſh water. The Indians had bought all the red lead, but though it was actually delivered on ſhore, yet afterwards diſliking it, they returned it back. In the evening the Engliſh ſaw a ſhip in the offing, and two or three Malabars which rode near them, obſerving that ſhe was a Portugueſe veſſel of Cochin bound for Chaul, Sir Henry ſent the Peppercorn, Darling, and the frigate, to fetch her in; but thoſe in the frigate pillaging the mariners, he took their plunder from them, and returned it to the owners. She was chiefly laden with cocoa-nuts, and Sir Henry took ſome ſmall matters out of her, on account of the injuries offered him by Don Franciſco de Soto, major at the bay of Surat.

On the 6th of March they left Dabul, and on the 20th, Sir Henry ſent Mr. Pemberton in the Darling before him to Socotra, to inquire after the

Engliſh ſhip bound for the Red Sea; but ſoon ſailed after him, and arriving at that iſland bought ſome ſheep, ſmall goats, olibanum, and gum-arabic; and after ſtaying ſome time for the Darling, ſtood towards Aden.

On the 1ſt of April, a council being called, it was concluded that the Peppercorn ſhould ply before the port of Aden, to keep all Indian ſhips from entering or ſtaying there, while Sir Henry was to cruiſe with the Trade's Increaſe in the Red Sea. But the next morning before they had ſeparated, they found the Darling at anchor, who had got before them, while they were waiting for her, and Mr. Pemberton coming on board, told Sir Henry, that the king of Socotra had ſhewed him a writing left there by Capt. John Saris, who had three ſhips under his command, and that it contained an account of the time he left England; the places of refreſhment by the way; his arrival there, and his reſolution to proceed to the Red Sea. He had peruſed a writing left by Sir Henry, with reaſons to diſſuade him from going thither; but having the grand ſignior's paſs, he hoped to meet with better entertainment than Sir Henry had done.

At hearing this unexpected news, a council was called, in which it was reſolved to proceed according to their former reſolution; and indeed they had no other way left. For they could not get back till the weſterly wind came in, which would not be in till the middle of May. Sir Henry therefore ſent Capt. Nicholas Dounton to cruiſe about in order to obſerve the port of Aden, where he himſelf with the Trade's Increaſe and Darling, went to watch the two-fold entrance of Babelmandel.

On the 14th, Capt. Saris came into the road, and anchored with his three ſhips by Sir Henry. They ſpent that day together in the Trade's In-

creaſe, and at parting Capt. Saris invited Sir Henry and others to dine with him the next day; at which time the captain ſhewed Sir Henry the grand ſignior's paſs.

About this time Mammi, captain of the galleys, came with ſome other perſons from the governor of Mocha, to capitulate with Sir Henry, and know his demands, as a ſatisfaction for paſt injuries. And Sir Henry inſiſting on 100,000 rials of eight, they deſired time to ſend to Zenan, to know the pleaſure of Jaffa Baſſa, and then took leave.

On the 30th, a general conſultation was held on board the Trade's Increaſe, and at noon there came over from Mocha the Shar Bandar, Mammi, captain of the galleys, and an aga, all appointed by the baſſa, to confer with Sir Henry about an agreement; but finding that he would make no abatement of the ſum he had demanded, they deſired leave to talk with the captains of the Indian ſhips and other principal merchants, to try if they would ſuffer any farther duties to be laid on the Indian goods, towards raiſing the money: But ſeveral of theſe captains oppoſing theſe duties, the commiſſioners promiſed Sir Henry, that as ſoon as they had the baſſa's anſwer, they would let him know what was to be done. All this time the Engliſh were employed in opening, packing, and repacking of Indian cloths fit for their purpoſe, giving their own goods in exchange.

On the 11th, Sir Henry with the Trade's Increaſe, and Capt. Saris, with the Clove and Hector, ſailed towards Mocha, with all the Indian ſhips, leaving the Peppercorn behind, with a ſmall ſhip called the Jungo, to which Capt. Dounton reſtored all the goods he had taken out of her, and on the 12th, they both followed the admiral.

On the 19th, Sir Henry perceiving that the Turks intended nothing but delays, and that they were buſy in unlading a ſhip of Katſnagone, he

went on board the Peppercorn, and ordered Capt. Dounton to warp near him, which he did, discharging several guns at the Turks till they gave over their work.

On the 26th, Sir Henry and Capt. Saris appointed a meeting on board the Mahmudi of Dabul, where all the captains of the Indian ships being sent for, Sir Henry repeated his complaints against the Turks, and told them, that notwithstanding he had made himself amends for the injuries he sustained in India, yet till he had also received full satisfaction from the Turks, he would not permit them to trade thither, and was resolved to carry all the Indian ships out of this sea with him, in order that the Turks might receive no benefits from them this year. The Indian merchants being unwilling to make an unprofitable monsoon, by carrying back their commodities, desired to come to a composition, and proposed that every ship should pay a certain sum to the English for liberty to trade. When Sir Henry considering that he had not the power to force satisfaction from the Turks, without farther prejudicing the Indians, determined to accept of their offer, and the sums being agreed upon with all the Indian ships, and in part received, on the 6th of August Capt. Saris sent away Capt. Towerson in the Hector, and on the 13th, having received all his share of the composition money, he left the Red Sea.

On the 16th of August, the Peppercorn and Trade's Increase set sail, and repassed the streights of Babelmandel.

On their approaching the coast of India, they observed many snakes swimming on the surface of the water; on the 19th of October they anchored in the road of Tekoa, where they found the Darling had been ever since July in great part of the rains, which were not yet ended. In this time

ſhe had buried three merchants, and three ſailors, and moſt of their men were ſick. She had got but little pepper, nor was there much more to be had till the next ſeaſon. Sir Henry therefore finding little encouragement at that place, on account of the civil wars, which were a great hindrance to trade, ſet ſail on the 23d in the Peppercorn for Bantam, leaving Captain Dounton in the Trade's Increaſe, to remain till the 16th of the following month; but he did not ſail till the 20th, when he took the remainder of the pepper he had bought on board. On examining it he had a convincing proof of the diſhoneſty of the natives; for in ſome ſacks there were ſmall bags of poddy, in ſome rice, and in others great ſtones; beſides rotten and wet pepper were put into new ſacks. But the Trade's Increaſe ſpringing a leak, Captain Dounton was obliged ſome days after to return to Tekoa, where he ſtaid till the eighth of December, when he again ſet ſail, and arrived at Pulo Panian on the 20th, where Sir Henry called a council, in which it was agreed, that the Trade's Increaſe ought to be careened before ſhe could return home, and as this would take up time, it was concluded to diſpatch the Peppercorn immediately for England.

She accordingly ſet ſail on the 4th of February, and on the 10th of May arrived in the road of Saldana, where Captain Dounton having taken in a ſupply of water, he again ſet ſail, and without touching at any other place for refreſhment, reached Waterford in Ireland; but he had there the misfortune, after a long and troubleſome voyage, to be taken up for piracy, and confined in the fort of Dungannon, where he lay near three weeks; but being at length diſcharged he ſteered for England, and on the 20th of October came up the Thames to Blackwall.

But to return to Sir Henry. He ſteered to Machian, where endeavours were uſed to ſheath the Trade's Increaſe; but a dreadful mortality breaking out among the men, above an hundred of them died, and only thirty-three were left of the whole crew, the greateſt part of whom were ſick; thus the veſſel was left on ground without a maſt, and ſheathed only on one ſide. Theſe misfortunes gave Sir Henry ſuch concern, that it is ſaid he died of grief, on the 24th of May, 1613.

THE

VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN GEORGE ROBERTS,

TO THE

CAPE DE VERD ISLANDS.

Giving an account of what tranſactions took place after he ſailed from London, in 1721, till his return in 1725, in which is included, a deſcription of the iſlands.

THIS voyage is inſerted here purely for the ſake of giving a more diſtinct account of the Cape de Verd Iſlands, than is to be met with in the voyages of thoſe who have only touched at them, or ſtaid for a day or two to take in a freſh ſupply of wood and water. By giving this and the following account of the Cape of Good Hope, we avoid numerous repetitions that would have ſwelled this work, and many erroneous accounts that would have rendered it inaccurate.

In the year 1721, Mr. Roberts agreed with ſeveral merchants of London to ſail to Virginia, and there to take the command of a ſloop, which he was to load with a cargo for the coaſt of Guinea; and having ſold it, he was to purchaſe ſlaves, and return with them either to Virginia or Barbadoes, as he found it moſt for the intereſt of his employers; and when he had diſpoſed of them, he was to take in a freight for London. He accordingly ſet ſail,

and on his arrival at Virginia purchaſed a ſloop and proper cargo, with which he ſteered to the Cape de Verd Iſlands.

But ſoon this unhappy gentleman was involved in the deepeſt diſtreſs. Near St. Nicholas, one of theſe iſlands, he was taken by pirates, who had three ſhips. One of the commanders treated him with great civility, and extraordinary offers were made him to induce him to join them; but he reſiſted them with the utmoſt ſteadineſs. They, however, at laſt conſented to his going on board his own ſhip, when a propoſal was even made to allow him ſome ſpare goods and neceſſaries; but refuſing to drink the Pretender's health, one of the commanders, who had before oppoſed every favourable meaſure, attempted to ſhoot him through the head, and had afterwards the cruelty, having firſt inſulted over him in the moſt inhuman manner, to put him on board his own veſſel at midnight, without proviſions, without water, without ſails, or any hands but his two boys, one of whom was not more than eight years old. His condition was rendered ſtill more dreadful by the want of candle, and his ſloop being leaky, and having much water.

Mr Roberts went on board with a mind compoſed and reſigned. He firſt with great labour and fatigue, by the aſſiſtance of his biggeſt boy, pumped his ſloop dry; and day-light no ſooner appeared, than he rummaged to find if the barbarous wretches had left him any thing that might ſupport life; but found only a few crumbs in the bread lockers, a little tobacco, ten gallons of rum, a ſmall quantity of rice, a remnant of flour at the bottom of a caſk, and about two quarts of water, which he carefully drained out of all the caſks. He had alſo the happineſs to find ſome old ſail-cloth, with which in three days he patched up a kind of ſail, during which he fed on raw flour and rice, drinking nothing but rum:

but the heat of the climate, and the fatigues to which he and his boys were daily expoſed, rendering other food neceſſary, he made cakes of dough. The water being now conſumed, they felt the extremes of parching thirſt, which the rum would not aſſuage, and had the proſpect of dying for want of water, when they were happily relieved by a ſhower of rain, of which they ſaved about a gallon, beſides what they drank while the precious drops were falling. They now made a kind of pap of flour and water, which hunger made them think a delicious food. They huſbanded their proviſions with the utmoſt care, and about a fortnight after caught a ſhark, on which they alſo fed, drying what was left in the ſun.

About three weeks after their leaving the pirates, they, to their great joy, came in ſight of the iſland of St. Anthony; but having had, a day or two before, a freſh ſupply of water from the clouds, Mr. Roberts choſe to ſteer for St. Nicholas, where he was known. It was late in the evening when he reached the anchoring place of that iſland, and almoſt dark before the boat could be got out; he therefore deferred landing till the next morning. But his ſcanty ſupply of water being now ſpent, the biggeſt boy earneſtly preſſed his maſter to let him ſcull the boat aſhore and fill a keg. To this he conſented, on his promiſing to return directly on board.

The boy was no ſooner gone, than Mr. Roberts, overcome by his paſt fatigues, was taken ill, and, ordering the little boy to look out for the boat, went into his cabbin, where he inſenſibly dropped aſleep, and thus continued till midnight; when, returning upon deck, he found the ſhip almoſt out of ſight of the iſland. Aſtoniſhed and afflicted at this misfortune, and finding that the veſſel had made a great deal of water, he began to deſpair of his ever being able to make the land without the

boy, or to keep the ſhip from ſinking by labouring at the pump; her anchor too was out, and he apprehended that he ſhould be unable to haul it up.

However, the danger of ſinking being the moſt imminent, he applied to that, and in three or four hours ſucked the pump dry. Afterwards, with much fatigue, he heaved the anchor on board. Parched with thirſt, and without a drop of water, he remained for ſome time near the iſland, without being able to make it for want of hands; but at laſt found a ſandy bay, where he caſt anchor. The ſame evening ſeven negroes came in a boat to his aſſiſtance, bringing with them twenty gallons of water; a ſeaſonable ſupply, that raiſed his drooping ſpirits. Theſe people came on board at the ſolicitations of the boy on ſhore; but Mr. Roberts could not prevail with them to ſtay till the next morning, before they attempted to ſteer the ſhip into the harbour of Paragheſi. They immediately weighed the anchor, and ſet ſail; but in the night the main-ſail ſplit, which ſo daunted theſe negroe ſailors, who had got drunk with the rum they had found on board, that they betook themſelves to their boat, and Mr. Roberts was once more left deſtitute in his leaky veſſel, which he the next day endeavoured to ſteer to land.

While he was thus employed he, to his great ſurprize, heard the voices of three men in the hold, and on enquiry he found they had been left there dead drunk by their companions. One of theſe fellows offered to pilot the ſloop either into St. Jago's or St. John's; but not being able to make the land ſo ſoon as they expected, they were all ſo diſcouraged, that they laid down in the hold, giving themſelves up for loſt, and would neither pump nor work the ſhip, till they heard Mr. Roberts inſtructing the boy at the helm, when they called out to know if he ſaw land, and being anſwered that he was ſailing directly to St. John's, they came

with the utmoſt alacrity on deck, and of their own accord pumped the veſſel dry. One of them pretended to know the harbour, but when he came near the iſland, was utterly at a loſs, and in this diſtreſs reſolutely inſiſted on putting the ſloop upon the rocks, till Mr. Roberts took up an old gun which had been left by the pirates, and threatened to ſhoot the firſt who attempted it; upon which the pretended pilot leaped overboard, and ſwam to land; and ſoon after Mr. Roberts hauled in ſo cloſe to Punto de Sal, that they could almoſt leap on ſhore, on which he was left by the other negroes.

It may here ſeem ſomewhat extraordinary that Mr. Roberts ſhould be able to converſe with the negroes; but the wonder will ceaſe when the reader is informed, that the language of the natives of all theſe iſlands is a dialect of that of the Mandingo negroes, mixed with a corrupt Portugueſe, of both which he had a tolerable ſmattering.

That night Mr. Roberts ſaw ſeveral of the natives on the top of the rocks, and the next morning three of them came down, ſwam to the ſhip, and welcomed him to their iſland; they offered to get him what he wanted, if he would go aſhore with them; and on his telling them he could not ſwim, they expreſſed their ſurprize, that a man ſhould venture to ſea without ſo neceſſary a qualification. Theſe were ſoon followed by other negroes, who brought him refreſhment, and he having made a hearty meal of a pompion and boiled rice, three of them went to catch him ſome fiſh, while the others ſtaid to work the ſhip dry. In ſhort, after the dreadful fatigues he had ſuffered, and his being emaciated by his abſtinence and watching, he was kindly regaled with a diſh of fiſh for his ſupper, and perſuaded to take ſome repoſe, which he gladly accepted.

The next day the weather beginning to look unpromiſing, Mr. Roberts was in ſome fear of being driven out to ſea; and the negroes having in vain endeavoured to faſten a rope to the rocks, they offered to ſwim with him and his boy to land; however, he did not chuſe to leave the veſſel while there was the leaſt probability of ſaving her. But the following day proving very ſtormy, in ſpite of all his efforts ſhe drove on the rock, and beat a great hole in her bottom. The water now riſing as high on the inſide as without, the affrighted negroes left him with the boy, but when the ſtorm abated, kindly returned and ſwam aſhore with the lad; and Mr. Roberts now conſenting to leave the veſſel, two of them took him one by each arm; bidding him not be afraid, but truſt in St. Anthony; for they did not doubt of carrying him ſafe. However, when they had got about midway, the ſea breaking over them, one of the blacks dived down and let go his hold; but a third, who was behind, roſe like a fiſh, and ſupplied his place; which the other who had forſook him ſeeing, he ſwam back to the veſſel to ſave what he could; but he had hardly got aſhore with a looking-glaſs and ſome old ſhoes, before the very form of the ſloop was loſt, her ſtern and part of her deck being driven away.

Thus was our author happily delivered from the danger of a boiſterous ſea. Some of the natives who were on the tops of the rocks, but could not ſee whether he got on ſhore, came down to his relief; and finding him ſafe, ſwam to the wreck, and bringing all the pieces of the veſſel, and every thing elſe they could ſave, to the rocks, depoſited them in ſafety out of the reach of the ſea. They made a fire to dry Mr. Roberts's clothes; expreſſed their admiration at the wiſdom of the white men, and their regard for the Engliſh; caught him fiſh, and dreſſed it for him. The governor of the iſland

ſent ſeveral perſons to him, with the moſt friendly offers of giving him all the aſſiſtance in his power. He was now ſupplied with milk and fruit; and the ſon of a perſon who had been formerly governor, came in the moſt obliging manner with ſeveral kinds of fruit, and a cake of bread made of bananas and maize. In ſhort, every one ſtrove who ſhould moſt oblige him, without expecting or deſiring any thing in return.

Mr. Roberts's ſituation was however ſtill very uncomfortable. He had fixed himſelf upon a ſhelf of the rocks, under the covert of others which hung over his bead. The rocks aroſe above to an amazing height, and it was not without great difficulty and danger, that the friendly natives deſcended theſe dreadful precipices to his aſſiſtance, which it was impoſſible for him to climb. They were forced to ſwim from thence not only to the fiſhing place, but to get freſh water, at a place where a ſpring ran from the rocks: they, however, ſpared no pains to ſerve him, and ſome of them made beds of leaves, and ſtaid with him in the night; while he lay upon his own bed, which they had found ſwimming in the ſea, and had dried in the ſun.

Mr. Roberts and the boy had been ſome days in this ſituation, when diſcourſing with the friendly natives, he obſerved a man who had light hair that was not woolly, and a very tawny complexion; who inſtantly, to his great joy and ſurpriſe, ſpoke to him in Engliſh. This was a Welſhman named Charles Franklin, who having been taken by ſome pirates, had eſcaped from them in the port of Sierra Leona, and after ſtaying a conſiderable time in Africa, came to this iſland. His converſation afforded our author the higheſt ſatisfaction; and he had hopes of being ſoon delivered from his diſagreeable ſituation among the rocks, by having the only boat in the iſland ſent to take

him round into the bay: this boat, however, not coming at the time expected, Mr. Roberts contrary to the advice of all the negroes, reſolved to attempt to climb the rocks, and they, finding him reſolute, lent him their aſſiſtance. With great difficulty he aſcended half way up the firſt rock, when looking down his head grew dizzy, he trembled, and narrowly eſcaped falling at once to the bottom; but he was ſupported by the friendly negroes. He then got to the firſt reſting place, which is at leaſt as high as St. Paul's cupola from the bottom. They had then a path about three feet broad, which ſeemed like a gallery, only wanting rails. Along that path they walked about three quarters of a mile, or more, ſometimes deſcending, but moſtly aſcending; and in ſome places it was ſo narrow, that they were obliged to paſs firſt, and to reach the end of their poles to him. At length, the aſcent grew in a manner perpendicular, and two of the negroes mounting before the reſt, ſtruck a crag of the rock, as was their cuſtom, to try whether it would bear them, when a huge piece tumbled over them, and raiſed ſuch a duſt, that the air, as far as the ſight could reach, ſeemed filled with ſmoke; and it made ſuch a terrible noiſe, that Mr Roberts thought all the rocks about them were falling on their heads. After all was quiet, and the duſt laid, the two above, whom it was imagined had been daſhed to pieces, came down to thoſe who ſtaid with Mr. Roberts, and rejoiced to find them all ſafe. The aſcent for the reſt of the way was now found too ſteep for ſo poor a climber as our author; they therefore with great difficulty and danger deſcended with him, and at laſt reached the bottom without any accident.

But the exceſſive heat of the ſun reflected by the rocks, and the fatigues our author had endured in this excurſion, threw him into a fever, that laſted

near a month, during which he was attended with the utmoſt care and affection by theſe humane people, and on his recovery was taken in the boat to the harbour; and being now ſo weak as to be ſcarcely able to ſtand, was faſtened upon the governor's horſe, and conducted to his houſe; the road to which was extremely rocky and uneven.

The governor welcomed him with all the ſigns of joy imaginable, and would have perſuaded him to lodge in his houſe; but this honour, as it was termed, had been earneſtly ſolicited by Singore Gumms, the ſon of a former governor, who frequently attended him while he was confined among the rocks, and had treated him with the utmoſt care and affection.

As to their hunting, the governor having the ſole privilege of killing the wild goats, none dared hunt without his conſent. This was a law made by the Portugueſe when they peopled theſe iſlands from the coaſt of Africa, in order to prevent the breed being entirely deſtroyed.

This is one of the principal privileges enjoyed by the governor; who is alſo the only magiſtrate, and decides the little differences that ſometimes happen among the people. Upon their not ſubmitting to his deciſion, he confines them till they do, in an open place, walled round like a pound; but inſtead of a gate, they generally lay only a ſtick acroſs the entrance, and thoſe innocent people will ſtay there without attempting to get out, except when overcome with paſſion, they ruſh out in a rage: but theſe are ſoon caught again, tied hand and foot, and a ſentinel ſet to watch them, till they agree with their antagoniſt, aſk the governor's pardon for breaking out of his priſon, and have remained there as long as he thinks they have deſerved. Nay, if one kills another, which hardly happens in an age, the governor can only confine him till he has pacified the relations of the deceaſed,

by the mediation of his friends, who are bound for the criminal's appearance, in caſe a judge ſhould be ever ſent from Portugal to execute juſtice: but impriſonment is here reckoned ſuch a ſcandal, that it is as much dreaded as Tyburn is by the criminals in England.

When the governor has a mind to make a general hunt, all the inhabitants are aſſembled, who do not exceed 200; and the hunting dogs, which are between a beagle and a greyhound, are called. At night, or when the governor thinks proper to put an end to the ſport, they all meet together, and he parts the goats fleſh between them as he pleaſes, ſending what he thinks proper to his own houſe, with all the ſkins; and after he comes home he ſends pieces to thoſe who are old, or were not out a hunting; and the ſkins he diſtributes among them as he thinks their neceſſities require, reſerving the remainder of them for the lord of the ſoil.

The natives, who are the moſt ignorant and ſuperſtitious, as well as the moſt innocent, harmleſs, and friendly of all the Cape de Verd Iſlands, wear in common only a little ſlip of cotton faſtened to a ſtring before, which paſſing between the thighs is tied to the ſame ſtring behind; but their full dreſs is alſo a piece of cotton cloth, which the men hang over their ſhoulders and wrap round their waiſts; while the women put it over their heads, and then wrap it about their bodies; and on both of them it extends to the calf of the leg or lower. This cloth they ſpin and weave themſelves.

The prieſt, who was a negro and very ignorant, ſays maſs, baptizes, and buries the dead; but the natives have intermixed with theſe rites ſome of their heatheniſh cuſtoms, as waſhing before baptiſm; adorning the bride with flowers and a garland on the day of marriage; ſtripping her of all at night, and putting earth on her head in token

of ſubjection; ſprinkling the graves of the dead with water, and ſometimes with the juice of water-melons.

This iſland, which is named St. John's, is ſituated in 15°. 25'. north latitude, and 7°. 2'. weſt from Cape de Verd; and though very high and rocky, yet lying near St. Philip's, appears in compariſon of that to be low. It has more ſalt-petre than any of the Cape de Verd Iſlands; and the governor offered to procure Mr. Roberts a cargo ſufficient to load with it a larger ſloop than that he had loſt. It grows in ſeveral caves there, covering all the ſides like a hoar froſt, and in ſome hollow rocks like iſicles, as thick as a man's thumb: our author gives very ſtrong reaſons to believe that this iſland alſo abounds with copper and gold, and formerly great quantities of ambergriſe were found floating in the ſea.

Mr. Roberts endeavoured to perſuade the governor to let him repair his old boat, and go over with it to the iſland of St. Philip; but he thinking it too ſmall and crazy, denied his requeſt: yet propoſed his building another, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in the work by the labour of all the men in the iſland, if he would make it large enough to ſail in without danger. This propoſal Mr. Roberts gladly accepted, and having ſaved a great number of nails and pieces of iron, while confined among the rocks, out of the pieces of the wreck brought aſhore by the natives, the boat was begun. He dreaded that he ſhould never be able to finiſh it; but having ſeen ſeveral built from firſt to laſt, his deſire to return to England made him exert all his abilities; and the work was completed; for theſe friendly people hewed down the trees, and chopped them into boards and timbers. He afterwards caulked his little veſſel with oakum, made of ſome pieces of old ropes, and with cotton and moſs; he caſed the bottom with tallow mixed

with aſſes dung burnt to aſhes; the governor generouſly ordering a general hunting match to procure him the fat of goats, and alſo killing a cow for that purpoſe: and in ſhort, he made a jib ſail of an old piece of canvas. It was launched by the natives, and a ſmall anchor and hawſer were got up, which had been left with a buoy in the road by a Portugueſe veſſel.

Every thing being thus finiſhed, he was plentifully ſupplied with beef, goats fleſh, maize, flour, and fruit; and having paſſed four or five days with the governor and the inhabitants, he took his leave; and going on board with his boy, and two negroe mariners who came to the iſland in his ſloop, and belonged to St. Nicholas, with three of the natives, he ſet ſail, leaving Mr. Franklin, the Welſhman, who choſe to continue at St. John's.

The ſame evening Mr. Roberts reached St. Philip's, and landing the next morning, was treated there too with great kindneſs. Captain Thome Santee, who had the title of Procurador of St. John's, wanted to go to that iſland, and informed him, that if he would have any thing done to his boat, there were two negroes at St. Philip's who had been educated at the French factory at Senegal, and taken from thence to Nants, to learn the art of ſhip building. Theſe were ſent for, and on Mr. Roberts promiſing, that if he could find no other method of returning to Europe, he would ſet them on ſhore near the place of their birth on the coaſt of Africa, they joyfully agreed to make ſome alterations, which it was thought would render the boat more commodious; and there being no timber at St. Philip's large enough for that purpoſe, they conſented to return with him to St. John's. Captain Thome alſo prevailed on a ſmith to go with them, in order to lend his aſſiſtance. Beſides theſe, Mr. Roberts took in ſome paſſengers, who

paid him 10 cotton cloths for their paſſage, ſuch as they wear to cover them from head to foot, and of this cloth he made a foreſail.

The Iſland of St. Philip, alſo called the Iſland of Fogo, or Fire, is about ſeven leagues from St. John's; it is ſituated in 15°. 20'. north latitude, and 6°. 54'. weſt from Cape de Verd, and received its name from its being diſcovered by the Portugueſe on the firſt of May, the feaſt of St. Philip and James. It is much higher than any other of the Cape de Verd Iſlands, and appears like a continued mountain up to the top. In ſailing by it no valleys are to be ſeen, they ſeeming only gutters made by the ſtreams of rain running down the mountain; but when a man is on ſhore, and in one of theſe gutters, he finds that they are deep valleys, and that their banks are high mountains.

The Peak is a terrible volcano, which caſts forth rocks of an amazing ſize to a vaſt height: theſe make ſuch a noiſe by their fall, and their breaking and rolling down, that our author has heard them in calm weather at eight or nine leagues diſtance; and when they are blown up, you may hear a report like a great gun, or rather thunder. In the night-time Mr. Roberts has ſeen the ſtones rolling down the peak all of a flame; and he was told by the inhabitants, that flaming brimſtone ſometimes pours from the peak like a torrent of water down a ſteep mountain; after which they can gather what quantity they pleaſe. Some pieces of it they ſhewed Mr. Roberts; it is like common brimſtone, but of a much brighter colour, and on being burnt gives a much clearer flame. At other times, this volcano caſts forth ſuch a quantity of aſhes mixed with cinders, that the adjacent parts are covered, and ſome of the goats ſmothered by them.

This iſland has no running brooks, and in ſome places the inhabitants are obliged to go ſix or ſeven miles for freſh water; yet notwithſtanding this,

it produces great quantities of pompions, water-melons, feſhoons, and maize, but no bananas and plantains, and hardly any fruit-trees, except wild figs: however, in ſome of their gardens they have guava trees, oranges, lemons and limes. They have alſo ſome good vineyards, of which a ſmall quantity of wine is made; but it is generally all drank before it has done fermenting.

The iſland was originally inhabited by the Portugueſe, to whom the king gave the land. Theſe brought negroe ſlaves with them, and ſtocked the country with cows, aſſes, horſes, and hogs; the king ſending goats, which run wild on the mountains. Hence the profit of their ſkins is reſerved to the crown; and he who has the management of this revenue is called captain of the mountains, none daring to kill any of them without his licence. It is cuſtomary here, and at all the other iſlands, for every perſon at his death to give freedom to his blacks. Theſe are now the principal inhabitants, there being a hundred negroes on the iſland to one of the whites. They make cotton cloths for clothing, and breed mules which they ſell to other nations. All the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, but mingle with that religion ſome Pagan ſuperſtitions. Moſt of the whites live with the governor in the town of St. Philip, and have at the ſame time country houſes on that part of their eſtates which they keep in their own hands, and manage by their ſlaves. Theſe ſupply them with food, and the rents of the plantations let to the blacks are paid to them in cotton cloth.

The day after Mr. Roberts left this iſland he landed at St. John's, to the great ſaitsfaction of all the paſſengers, as well as the natives of that iſland, and eſpecially thoſe who accompanied him in the voyage; theſe did not fail to brag of it, more perhaps than an Engliſh raw ſailor would of his firſt voyage to the Eaſt-Indies. Mr. Roberts met

with the ſame kind of behaviour from the governor and people as before ; and the negroe carpenters being ſet to work, every one endeavoured to aſſiſt them.

In about two months the boat was completed and rendered ſtronger and more commodious than before. Captain Thome had by that time finiſhed his buſineſs there, and therefore Mr. Roberts ſet ſail with him, together with three inhabitants of St. Philip's, and the two carpenters ; and having ſet them on ſhore on the laſt mentioned iſland, ſailed to St. Jago. He afterwards traded for ſome time with the different iſlands, carrying proviſions to Mayo, where the people ſuffered greatly by famine, and loading there and at Bona Viſta with ſalt : till at length being at St. Nicholas's, his boat while he was on ſhore, was ſtaved to pieces on the rocks. He, however, met with very kind treatment from the inhabitants, and ſold the pieces of the boat that were ſaved for twelve dollars.

While Mr. Roberts was there, an Engliſh veſſel arrived, commanded by Mr. Harfoot, who propoſed to trade among the iſlands for cloths, and then to proceed to Barbadoes. At that gentleman's deſire, our author conſented to aſſiſt him in his trade ; and, in return, he very readily agreed to give him and his little boy, who attended him from iſland to iſland, their paſſage. Having weighed from thence, they proceeded to Bona Viſta, from thence to Mayo, and then ſteered to Porto Praya in the iſland of St. Jago, where they found an Engliſh ſhip freighted by the Portugueſe merchants, which had come laden with ſlaves, wax, and elephants teeth from the coaſt of Guinea ; but had buried the greateſt part of her crew, and was bound to Liſbon. This veſſel, beſides being weakly manned, was in a very crazy condition ; whence Mr. Durell, the captain, who had juſt recovered from a dange-

rous fit of ſickneſs, was very ſolicitous to perſuade Mr. Roberts to ſail with him, and aſſiſt him in taking care of the ſhip; and to this Mr. Roberts conſented.

The Cape de Verd Iſlands being firſt diſcovered and peopled by the Portugueſe, were divided among the nobility of that kingdom, except St. Jago's and St. Philip's, which are governed by men appointed by the king, who are generally Portugueſe born, eſpecially the former, who has the title of general governor of all the Cape de Verd Iſlands, and the coaſt of Guinea, from the river Senegal to Sierra Leona. The lords put a ſtock of cows and goats on their reſpective iſlands; and he who is conſtituted the lord's ſteward is called governor by the natives. Though his Portugueſe majeſty has made St. Jago the clearing port for all that part of the coaſt of Guinea within the above limits, there are no fortifications on any of the iſlands, except the latter and St. Philip's, and none of them are of any ſtrength, except at the city of St. Jago, and theſe are only defended by the natives.

The iſland of St. Jago, or St. James, which took its name from its being diſcovered on the 1ſt of May, the feſtival of that ſaint, is ſituated in 15°. north latitude, and 6°. 5'. longitude from Cape de Verd, and was not only the firſt of theſe iſlands inhabited by the Portugueſe, but is the largeſt and moſt fruitful of them all. The inhabitants, who are about three whites to forty blacks, pay no tax to the crown. This iſland has plenty of water, and many valleys; and as it affords good poſture, it abounds with cows, ſheep, hogs, goats, horſes, aſſes, and variety of fowl. It alſo produces oranges, lemons, pine-apples, bananas, tamarinds, cocoa-nuts, plantains, pompions, water and muſk melons, mandyokes, ſugar-canes, and grapes, though they are not allowed

to make wine. The capital of the iſland is Ribeira Grande, where the governor, oviodore, and biſhop reſide. Here alſo is a monaſtery, which is adorned with a large garden, and affords the fineſt proſpect of any building about the city, except the cathedral. Moſt of the prieſts among theſe iſlands, as alſo thoſe ſent to Guinea, are negroes. There are four other towns in the iſland, which are St. Jago, St. Domingo, St. Domingo Abaceu, and Praya; the laſt of which is the moſt noted port in the iſland.

Bona Viſta, or Good Sight, ſo named from its being the firſt of the Cape de Verd Iſlands diſcovered by the Portugueſe, is ſituated in 16°. 10'. north latitude, and in 5°. 14'. weſt longitude from Cape de Verd. The iſland is moſtly low land, with ſome rocky mountains and ſandy hills. It produces great quantities of indigo, and more cotton than all the Cape de Verd Iſlands beſides, yet there is not one of them where there are fewer cotton cloths to be ſold: for the inhabitants will neither gather the cotton till a ſhip is arrived to buy it: nor will the women ſpin it till they want it. When our author was there, moſt of the cattle had died by a famine; the natives had, however, tame goats, and lived on their milk: they alſo fed on fiſh and turtle. And the Engliſh, who often came there to take in a lading of ſalt, hired aſſes and men to bring down the ſalt to the ſea; for which they paid them in biſcuit, flour, or old clothes. They uſed alſo to have a pretty good trade for horſes and aſſes, which are the beſt of all that are upon the Cape de Verd Iſlands. Raw ſilk is much coveted by them, for working the boſoms of their ſhirts, ſhifts, caps, and women's waiſtcoats.

The men generally wear the European dreſs, and moſt of them have ſuits of clothes bought of the Engliſh, and have learnt to make cotton cloths to imitate the European faſhion. The women wear one, two, or three cotton cloths wrapped about

them like petticoats, and tied on with a girdle above the hips, and ſometimes without a girdle. Their ſhifts are made like a man's ſhirt, but ſo ſhort as not to reach the girdle: the waiſtbands, collar, and neck of the young people of ſome rank, are wrought in figures, with needle-work of ſilk in ſeveral colours: but the old and the poor have theirs worked with blue cotton thread. Over their ſhifts they wear a waiſtcoat, with ſleeves to button at the arms, not above four inches deep in the back part, but long enough before to tie with ſtrings under their breaſts. Over all they wear a cotton cloth in the manner of a mantle: thoſe of the married women are generally blue, and the darker the colour, the richer it is reckoned; but the maidens, and gay young wives or widows, wear blue and white, ſome ſpotted and ſome figured. They however rather chuſe, if they can get them, linen handkerchiefs wrought on the edges, and ſometimes only on the corners, with red, green, and blue ſilk; the firſt being the colour they moſt admire. They wear neither ſhoes nor ſtockings, except on holydays; and, indeed, at other times the women generally wear only a ſmall cotton cloth wrapped round their waiſt, and the men a ragged pair of breeches; to which if there be but a waiſtband, and a piece hanging to it before to hide what modeſty teaches them to conceal, they think it ſufficient. The people of Bona Viſta are fond of the Engliſh, and moſt of them can ſpeak a little of the Engliſh language.

The Iſle of Sal, which is the windermoſt of all the Cape de Verd Iſlands, lies in 17°. north latitude, and in 5°. 18'. weſt longitude, from the Cape de Verd. It is moſtly low land, having only five hills. This iſland formerly abounded with goats, cows, and aſſes, but was deſerted for want of rain. There are abundance of land crabs about the iſland, and the ſea abounds with many ſorts of fiſh.

The iſle of Mayo, or May, took its name from its being diſcovered on the firſt of that month. There grows on this iſland, as well as on moſt of the others, and particularly at Bona Viſta, a kind of vegetable ſtone, which ſhoots in ſtems, and forms ſomething like the head of a colliflower. It is extremely porous, and of a greyiſh colour. The inhabitants, who amount to about 200, are not ſo well affected to the Engliſh as thoſe of Bona Viſta; but they have more cows, and theſe are generally the beſt and fatteſt on the Cape de Verd iſlands: they have alſo moſt of them goats. They have more cotton than they can uſe, but are ſo lazy, that half of it is loſt for want of gathering. Their habits are almoſt the ſame as thoſe of Bona Viſta; but few of them wear their ſhirts and waiſtcoats ſtitched in colours. The iſland affords fiſh, turtle, and wild fowl.

The iſland of St. Nicholas is the longeſt of all the Cape de Verd iſlands, except St. Jago, and is ſituated in 16°, 45'. north lat. and 6°. 52'. weſt long from Cape de Verd. The iſland is moſtly high land. It is fruitful in maize, and produces the beſt feſhoons in all theſe iſlands, as likewiſe plantains, bananas, pompions, water and muſk melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and ſome ſugar canes. The inhabitants have vineyards, of which they make a tartiſh ſort of wine. There is here likewiſe the dragon tree, from which flows gum dragon. The natives make the beſt cloths and cotton quilts of all the iſlands: theſe are too good for the Guinea trade, but fit for that of Braſil. They make them up into clothes as neatly as our common country taylors, and will make buttons to imitate almoſt any pattern you ſhew them: they knit cotton ſtockings, tan cow-hides and goat-ſkins, and make tolerable good ſhoes. Theſe women are by far the moſt houſewifely and ingenious with their needles of any of the iſlands;

and ſhe who does not appear with a worſted cap, like thoſe worn at Bona Viſta, is thought very idle. The town of St. Nicholas is the moſt compact and populous of any on all the iſlands, though it is not ſo large as the city of St. Jago; but the houſes, and even the church, are only covered with graſs thatch. The inhabitants are the only people of the iſlands who build boats, with which they fiſh, and catch turtle. They have a number of horſes, and there are few families that have not a ſtock of hogs and fowls. The people ſpeak the beſt Portugueſe, and are the exacteſt roman catholics of any in the iſlands.

The iſle of Branca is only a high ſteep rock, where the St. Nicholas men come to catch fiſh.

St. Lucia is about three or four leagues to the weſtward of St. Nicholas; it has ſome goats and aſſes, but neither inhabitants nor water.

St. Vincent is alſo uninhabited, but on the north-weſt ſide is a good bay, called Porto Grande, where ſhips may have both wood and water, and alſo wild goats for taking the pains to ſhoot them. Here alſo are many aſſes, and as great a plenty of nitre as in the iſland of St. John. There are more turtle and fiſh caught at this iſland, than at all the other Cape de Verd Iſlands.

The Iſland of St. Antonio is ſituated in 17°. 19'. north latitude, and 8°. 2'. weſt longitude, from Cape de Verd. It is little inferior in height to St. Philip's, and conſidering the loftineſs of the mountains, and the lowneſs of the valleys, it contains as much ground as St. Jago. It has many brooks of freſh water, that render the valleys through which they run as fertile as any of the Cape de Verd Iſlands in maize, bananas, plantains, pompions, muſk and water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and guavas; and has the greateſt plenty of wine; but it is the worſt and cheapeſt of all the iſlands. The inhabitants have a large ſtock of

cows, hogs, and aſſes. The mountains abound with goats, and on one of them is found a ſtone, called by the natives a topaz; but whether it be the true topaz or not, Mr. Roberts acknowledges that he was not a judge. In this iſland are likewiſe produced great quantities of gum dragon, and abundance of indigo, which is cultivated here with great care, as are alſo large plantations of cotton. The natives are almoſt as innocent and humane as thoſe of St. John's. There are computed to be 2500 ſouls on the iſland, four-fifths of which number are made up by the ſlaves; who, like the free negroes, have plantations, houſes, and wives; and they cultivate ſome of the beſt places for cotton, indigo, &c. which are all worked up by theſe ſlaves, and managed by a ſteward placed there by a Portugueſe marquis, who is proprietor of the iſland.

It is now time to return to the voyage. Mr. Roberts ſet ſail with Capt. Durell; but they had hardly left St. Jago, when the leaks they had attempted to ſtop at that iſland broke out afreſh, and were continually increaſing; to add to this misfortune, the crew were a ſet of the moſt profligate fellows, that would ſcarcely ſubmit to the leaſt diſcipline, or obey any orders. Being in danger of ſinking, and the trade winds not permitting them to return to the Cape de Verd Iſlands, it was at laſt reſolved to ſteer to Barbadoes, and that iſland they happily reached, entering Carliſle Bay on Chriſtmas-day, 1724, where the veſſel being hove down, was ſheathed. They ſtaid about three months in that iſland, and then ſailed to Liſbon, when Mr. Roberts took the firſt opportunity of a paſſage to London, where he arrived in the latter end of June, 1725.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

PRINTED BY JOHN THOMPSON.